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30 April 1980

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1782



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN TRADITION OF FRIENDSHIP CELEBRATED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 4, 20 Feb 80 pp 54-55

[Article by Demeny Lajos: "Traditions of A Joint Romanian-Hungarian Struggle"]

[Text] In the Marxist historiography in our country there is a permanent concern for the cultivation of the traditions of brotherly Romanian-Hungarian coinhabitation that have existed throughout the centuries. This concern is stimulated by the principled position of the Romanian Communist Party, which, since its founding, has been fully decisively against any type of exploitation and oppression, against any type of national discrimination, and which has written upon its battle flag the unification of all workers regardless of their nationality, a unification founded on the principles of understanding, respect and mutual esteem, and of the Romanian people's equality and brotherhood with the coinhabiting nationalities in Romania.

Continuing and developing to a higher degree the legacy of historical democratic and progressive thought, the Marxist historians in Romania have honorably fulfilled their tasks along the lines of researching the history of the joint struggle of the Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and others for liberty and a better life. The episode of the joint Romanian-Hungarian history that is tied to the name Ecaterina Varga fits harmoniously into this history.

Nearly 140 years ago, in the fall of 1840, Ecaterina Varga, born into a family of small Hungarian nobles in Halmagiu, met with Romanian peasants in Bucium who for decades had been fighting against the oppression and abuse to which they had been subjected by the imperial court and the royal authorities. The peasants in Abrud-Sat, Bucium-Sat, Poeni, Cerbu, Izbita, Muntari, Sasa and Carpinis, subjugated by the imperial court of the realm of the Middle Zlatna, were employed in mining and, in part, in agriculture and cattle raising. With the establishment of the Habsburg rule of Transylvania at the end of the 17th century, the fate of these peasants suffered a visible decline.

The imperial authorities in Vienna did not take into account the freedoms granted to the peasants by the princes of Transylvania. Wanting to obtain ever greater incomes from exploiting the gold-bearing ores without making any type of investment, they resorted to the usual feudal methods - to increasing the serfs' obligations and quotas in their realm, quotas that were accompanied by all types of abuses on the part of the local authorities.

Against these obligations and abuses, the Romanian peasants in Zlatna carried out a stubborn struggle which culminated, in 1784, with the revolt led by Horea, Closca and Crisan. They never renounced their attempts to reacquire their freedoms, not even after the revolt had been put down. Involved in a long legal case with the imperial court and after years of delay, they refused in 1837 to continue to fulfill the unjustly imposed feudal quotas. In order to put down their opposition, the authorities resorted to force, with villages being occupied by the army, the leaders of the resistance being thrown into prison, and the villagers being forced to submit.

At such a grave moment, Ecaterina Varga placed herself in the service of defending the interests and rights of the peasants in Bucium, Carpinis and Abrud-Sat, arriving at an understanding with them in this regard in the fall of 1840. For six years she lived among the Romanian peasants, wrote in their names petitions which she took to different Transylvanian authorities or to Vienna, and she organized and directed, on a day-to-day basis, the struggle of the peasants in defense of their rights. Because she was permanently pursued by the authorities, she lived one day in one village, another village the next day, with one family and then with another. She was present in the lives of the Romanian peasants every day, taking part in their sufferings and joys. According to the custom of the area, she walked around in peasant's clothes, wearing a long white peasant's coat, and rode horseback through the different mountain villages. Protected by peasants and carefully hidden when the people sent by the authorities were on her trail, she enjoyed great prestige among the people in the Apuseni Mountains.

The work published by the historian and archivist Kiss Andras of Cluj-Napoca offers us a very rich and first hand look at all this.* Two decades ago, he uncovered in the State Archives the file of the trial of Ecaterina Varga, a file which contains the statements of witnesses, reports, official documents and so forth, and which, with some exceptions, is being published for the first time. Of great importance are the depositions of the tens of witnesses heard during

*Kiss Andras, "Varga Katalin pere" (The Trial of Ecaterina Varga), "Kriterion" Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979.

the trial, as well as the report of the interrogation to which Ecaterina Varga was subjected. The work also contains her autobiographical notes and verses written by her in prison and addressed to the peasants for whose cause she sacrificed herself. They contain thoughts of a special spiritual beauty and high sensitivity, simple, yet profound thoughts about Romanian-Hungarian cooperation and mutual assistance.

If the statements made during the trial by the representatives of the imperial court were full of hate for Ecaterina Varga, those made by the peasants were always favorable. The Romanian peasants rejected decisively the unjust accusations made against her, pointing out that she worked on their authority to defend their interests. With regards to the so-called "sums extracted," the favors, the peasants pointed out that Ecaterina Varga received very little money, merely for the costs connected with forwarding the petitions. In December 1841, she went on-foot to Vienna, a trip lasting seven weeks, according to the statement of Gheorghe Petrica of Bucium-Sat, who accompanied her on this long and tiring trip.

The spiritual strength of Ecaterina Varga appears to us in all its beauty in the letter addressed to her brother and sisters in Halmagiu. In it she writes that "although in slavery, I do not feel unfortunate, but rather happy..., since I am fighting happily for righteousness." She asks her sister, Ilona, "so not cry for me and even if you do you will not be alone, since the people in three villages are bemoaning my situation with grieving hearts." Ecaterina Varga, while in prison, addressed to the people of Bucium-Sat a poem written in the style of the popular ballads in which, in naive verses that were sometimes awkward, she urges them not to lose their hope, since "even if I am not with you, my heart remains devoted to you."

The varied material contained in the volume put together by Kiss Andras refers to all the aspects of the rich activities carried out by Ecaterina Varga in the Romanian villages in the Apuseni Mountains. It provides new answers regarding the circumstances of Ecaterina Varga's arrest on 18 January 1847. It is known that after many unsuccessful attempts to get Ecaterina Varga away from the Romanian peasantry, Samu Josika, the chancellor of Transylvania for the Royal Court in Vienna, drew up the plan for her arrest with the help of the high clergy of the orthodox church. Josika put this plan into action, collaborating closely with Andrei Saguna, then the assistant orthodox bishop in Sibiu.

Pointing out to his contemporaries the events of those long-ago days, the author of the book stresses that the inhabitants of the Zlatna did not forget about Ecaterina Varga and that from the actions

recorded in documents they forged a bright episode of Romanian-Hungarian friendship and collaboration. "The struggle of the three Romanian villages in alliance with a Hungarian woman," writes Kiss Andras, "constitutes a small part of the history of the country. These three villages were tied in thousands of ways with the great mass of serfdom. Their struggle was the struggle of all serfs and their history the history of the entire country. Within its framework, Ecaterina Varga stands as an exemplary witness for mutual trust in living together and for the attitude of defending rights and steadfast trust in its triumph, thus constituting a lesson from the past that comes to us as a commandment of the present."

The volume that I have presented contains significant evidence regarding one of the exemplary moments in our past, a moment in which Ecaterina Varga fought and suffered together with the oppressed Romanian peasants in the Apuseni Mountains, thus recording in the history of our country an unforgettable page. Beyond the message of Romanian-Hungarian brotherhood, a message presented in all the historical works out of the prestigious "Kriterion" Publishing House, the value of Kiss Andras' investigation is that it was carried out with all the scientific exigency required by the level attained currently by historical research in our country. Since the sources contained in the work deal with aspects of collaboration between the Romanian peasants and Ecaterina Varga, as well as specific aspects of the life of Romanian peasants in an area with rich revolutionary traditions, we feel that its publication in Romanian would be of real scientific use, contributing to the enrichment of the treasury of sources published in recent times in the historiography in our country.

8724

CSO: 2700

POLISH WEEKLY EXAMINES HUNGARIAN 'NEW ECONOMIC MECHANISM'

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 13, 29 Mar 80 p 11

[Article by Marek Kloczko: "Balanced Life"]

[Text] The 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been held in Budapest. The matter that occupied a large measure of the attention of the participants also finds a lively response among us in Poland. What I have in mind is the distinct peculiarity of economic activities and obstinacy in seeking new possibilities of controlling the socialist economy. "In the next 5-year period," stated Janos Kadar, "a main goal of economic policy should be based on increased competitiveness of Hungarian goods on the international market, and improvement in the economic balance with preservation of the living standard achieved, despite a slower rate of development, by means of quantitative factors in economic growth."

The address delivered by the first secretary of the WSPR [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] contained very little in the way of numeric indicators, and these were mainly based on estimates. For example, "According to current estimates it appears that in the 6th 5-year period the real gain in the growth of the national income would be approximately 15-17% (real popular income by 6%, and food by 8%)."

The guidelines for the Congress contained practically no data or numeric standards. Although it could be said that the current plan is underway, and that elaboration of assumptions for the next 5-year period will take a whole year in principle, all of this is only part of the truth.

This fact is certainly testimony of the changes which have occurred in the last 12 years, not only in methods of action but also in the mentality of the Hungarians. And this is not only the mentality of the average members of society, but particularly in the method of thinking and working of the political and economic management cadres, from the lowest level to the highest. Here we should look back over the more than 12 years of the current history of Hungarian economic reform, which was

introduced (after several previous years of preparation) on 1 January 1968 and which the Hungarians themselves called the "New economic mechanism."

Reform

At the basis of the reform lay the exhaustion of the sources of growth available at the time, producing a need for more intense exploitation of internal revision and acceleration of technological development. This was also a time (second half of the 1960's) of wide discussions on the subject of reform in all socialist countries.

The fundamental goal in the Hungarian solution was not assigned to administrative measures but to economic means and methods. The major role was assigned to such economic categories as: proportions of goods, market, currency, prices, profitability and credit, and an attempt was made to reduce the number of obligatory enterprise indicators to a minimum. The centrally adopted decisions were to refer only to main goals and proportions in the national economic development, while enterprise activity was to a great extent to be regulated by market mechanisms, and thus by the interplay of supply, demand and price. The production enterprises gained the opportunity of independent adoption of decisions, how much of what to produce and offer for sale, and where and how many means of production to buy.

In this way an attempt was made to eliminate the negative effect resulting from the monopolistic situation in individual enterprises. This was furthered by an assurance of supply surplus over demand, the creation of competition for imported goods and competition on foreign markets. The association between planned centralized control and the activities of this mechanism contributed to a significant rise in initiative and independence. The enterprises themselves had to decide on their plans, and particularly on matters associated with current production, as well as partially on their own development, depending on income. A basic standard for the economic activity of state enterprises should be the level of their profitability, immediately affecting the personal incomes of the workers.

The state obviously has at its disposal instruments of control over the performance of the national economic plan, by funneling part of the income of enterprises to the state treasury, by regulating the principles of using the rest of the income remaining at the disposal of the enterprises, by means of a system of taxation governing the use of budget resources, a selectively applied credit policy and regulations of the conditions for granting credit, by statewide control of the level of wages, prices and currency rates, by granting pertinent permits in time of need and by issuing prohibitions. Likewise remaining in the hands of the central (government) were decisions on initiating large

investments, the creation of new enterprises and plants, and the adoption of large investments in the nonproduction sphere.

Prices play an essential role in assuring suitable activity of the market mechanism and proper orientation and inspiration of manufacturers and consumers. For this reason it was necessary to strive to create a uniform system of national prices and to bring their relations closer to the price relations on the world market.

Supporters and Opponents

This reform was not accepted without criticism. The first wave of criticism even occurred during the period of preparation and solidification of opinions with respect to the essence and scope of the reform. Among other things, despite the completely radical nature of the assumptions, they took pains for this reason to see that the introduction of the changes provoked the least possible resistance and assured transition to the new system in a method which would not cause any disturbances. Thus the reform was introduced into the entire economy at the same time. It may be said that the perception of realities and political pragmatism were subordinated to the "effectiveness" aspect. The first successes, it could be said, introduced enthusiasm into a host of proponents, softened the voices of criticism, and the opponents were forced to become quiet. However, this enthusiasm anesthetized the needed criticism with respect to the imperfections of the mechanism, and there were those who began to expect miracles from it, the fulfillment of requirements which could not be fulfilled by the assumptions. I had occasion to spend several years in Hungary during this period and I perfectly remember the endless discussions, the speculation and the fire in the eyes of Hungarian friends completely involved in these matters. Sometimes this masked growing discrepancies and the fact that the reform had not been consistently introduced into all fields. On the other hand, its mechanism met resistance from important sectors with a glorious past and numerous associations with the administrative and political apparatus, the managerial cadres who did not always make a good appearance under conditions of independent management.

The era of successes and enthusiasm, as well as the development of certain internal discrepancies, lasted more or less until 1973. At that time the price explosion on the world markets and the negative effect of the economic crisis of the capitalist nations on the Hungarian economy with its open nature revived all the critical voices. It was also demonstrated that what was supposed to be rosy was not rosy at all, and that the reality could not easily be put into the treasury. The publicly expressed fears about "a return to the lower middle class," and about "capitulation to a consumer society", and so on, were heightened. All of those who had not wanted the reforms raised their heads again,

along with those who did not understand it and those whose professional fitness under conditions of a need for more independent and flexible management was questioned. Every economic failure and the sporadically occurring irregularities were brought to the surface and more than once exaggerated, and an attempt was made to blame all failures completely on the reform. And since the mistakes pointed out and the critical comments sometimes indicated actually occurring problems, their source was often determined in an erroneous way. All of these critical voices, and the simultaneous additional unfavorable changes occurring in the world economy (especially the increase in prices for raw materials which are in short supply in Hungary) had an effect unfavorable to the reform and forced the adoption of some noninstitutional interference, in practice causing the assumptions of the reform to totter.

Other Reflections

In the heat of the discussions it was found, however, that the very spirit of the reform was already rooted quite permanently in Hungarian reality. An additional trump in the hands of the advocates of reform became the spread of the opinions that "In the case of improper value relations, even the central decisions lose their importance, leading to illegality in the adoption of enterprise decisions and directing them within a range of greater tolerance and struggle for the allocation of resources." The fact that the very system of administration and planning only serves the economic policy in a certain sense was demonstrated, and an attempt was made to make society aware of this. It can only serve society well if it prevents the implementation of inconsistent, illogical or mutually contradictory measures in this policy. It can also serve the economic policy badly. This happens when its mistakes and shortcomings are reinforced. At the same time an erroneous economic policy considerably reduces the effectiveness of any system of planning and management.

The party resolutions of 25 October 1976 and 23 April 1977 established numerous corrections governing the mechanism of reform since then. Essential changes were introduced at the beginning of this year. Actually this return to the spirit of the reform and ending the period of adopting sometimes mutually contradictory measures, and the exclusion of any revival of the discussions from before 1968 regarding the propriety of the reform assumptions themselves, were evidence of consistency and persistence in action and of a feeling for the realities of the situation. This was confirmed by the 12th WSPR Congress in its approach that the most important matter at the present stage is not criticism of the imperfections of the measures adopted, but full agreement with the goals of development and of the management mechanisms serving these goals. On the other hand the concrete discrepancies and inadequacies found should be liquidated, which is not at all in disagreement with the reform. This cannot be a single act, but only a long historical process consistently followed.

In this connection I would say that the current stage of development of the reform could be designated a more mature stage. This is because it is based on the opinion, expressed a number of times at the Congress, that the reform is correct, although it requires systematic improvement and sometimes the implementation of very essential changes. However, its assumptions and the mechanisms introduced through it are only half of the success, or rather only the foundation on the basis of which success may be achieved. After all, realization requires consistent activity and continuous correction of the model constructed. Consistency then, flexibility and pragmatism in thought, as up to now from a global viewpoint, would be the strong side of the Hungarian political, economic and technological cadres, and are also one of the essential guarantees for continued achievement of the reform and of economic success. Recent years particularly have demonstrated this, assuring Hungary of flattering opinions in international circles.

However, there is another aspect of this matter, one to which I would attribute no less significance than to economic effects and measures, one resulting from the very process of the implementation of the reform, although perhaps not directly. The reform brought about a great revolution in the way all of society thinks, particularly the economic cadres. It may be said that a certain "economicization" has occurred in social life, because economic subjects have moved to the head of nationwide discussions, and at the same time this has led to an increase in the general level of knowledge about economics and the laws governing it. Perhaps not the most essential, but still a very significant example of this is the way jokes are made at the expense of economists. It appears that a fact of major significance, from the propaganda and ideology point of view, is the treatment of certain difficulties with humor, without burdening them by their "their" government or personality or some other action, but accurate indication of the fact that all of society, especially the classes and groups of people, form the forger of the national fate. All of this is now bearing interest in the implementation of successive goals in streamlining the Hungarian economy. The guidelines for the Congress expressed this as follows: "Domestic life in Hungary is balanced, the workers' authority is powerful, the party is fulfilling its role of leadership and the socialist unity of the nation is becoming tighter and tighter."

6806

CSO: 2600

BULGARIANS BAR YUGOSLAV CORRESPONDENTS FROM PRESS CONFERENCE

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 5 Apr 80 p 3

[Article by Bosko Natevski, NOVA MAKEDONIJA permanent correspondent in Sofia: "Closed Doors for NOVA MAKEDONIJA and TANJUG"]

[Text] Sofia, 4 April--For still officially unexplained reasons, the correspondents of NOVA MAKEDONIJA and TANJUG were not allowed by the hosts to attend a press conference of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea organization from Phenom Penh which took place last night in the Club for Foreign Journalists in Sofia and which, according to today's Bulgarian press, was organized for domestic and foreign journalists accredited to Bulgaria.

The two Yugoslav journalists, contrary to usual professional procedures, did not receive invitations from the organizer to attend the press conference of the Kampuchean delegation, which was headed by the secretary general of the Central Committee of the United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea and had been in Bulgaria for several days. And when, out of their own personal interest, the journalists requested to attend, they were informed by the person in charge that it was desired that they not enter the conference hall, where the majority of the Bulgarian and foreign journalists were already located. The Yugoslav journalists were told that this press conference with the Kampuchean delegation was of an "internal character."

The behavior of the hosts, and especially their "special" treatment of the Yugoslav journalists accredited to the main city of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is even more incomprehensible considering the fact that this press conference, also attended by the head of the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was presided over by their colleague the chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists.

The special treatment of the Yugoslav correspondents on this and other similar occasions of internal political life or international activity, cannot be explained in any other way than as an unintelligible expression by the Bulgarian organs and Sofia Press, as one of the most important and most direct institutions for informing foreign correspondents. By these and

similar moves in every case the professional standards of behavior in the field of information have been violated. This does not lead to narrowing the gap in the area of cooperation between professional organizations and at the same time limits and makes conditions and possibilities more difficult for correct, complete and objective mutual exchange of information. Indeed, last night's incident is not the only case where the Yugoslav journalists have found themselves in "special" conditions and faced with closed doors.

CSO: 2800

ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE ANALYZED

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 4, 1979 pp 105-115

[Report by (H.P.): "Some Questions on the International Ideological Conflict (The Meeting of the International Problem Committee)"]

[Text] The International Problem Committee, operating within the framework of the multilateral scientific cooperation of the scientific academies in the socialist countries, held its 16th meeting, entitled "The ideological struggle in today's world," in Prague on 13-15 November 1979. The delegation from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam participated in this meeting of the Problem Committee as a member with full rights for the first time. The Hungarian section of the Committee was represented by Laszlo Nagy, the deputy director of the Sociological Institute [TTI] of the MSZMP Central Committee, the chairman of the section, Jozsef Balazs, the scientific department leader of the Foreign Affairs Institute and secretary of the Committee, and Peter Havas, the scientific department leader of the TTI of the MSZMP Central Committee. The meeting was opened by Z. Snityl, the director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and vice chairman for sociology of the Czechoslovak Scientific Academy.

An important tradition in the work of the Committee is that scientific conferences are held within the framework of its meetings to discuss individual theoretical problems. On this occasion the theoretical conference was held under the title of "Criticism of the criticism of Lenin's theory of revolution," with V. Ruml, the Czechoslovak academician, delivering the opening address. On the theoretical level the subject of the criticism formulated was represented by the general and special opposition between theory and method, by a distorted interpretation of the subjective factors in revolution (division of labor, party), by over-emphasis on spreading democracy and its separation from socialism, denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat and pluralism. An important position in the presentation was taken by criticism of today's revisionism.

Some 19 speakers explained their viewpoints at the conference. There was broad analysis and criticism of the bourgeois and reform viewpoints opposing Lenin's theory of revolution. A number of speakers emphasized that

a common thread in these currents is the statement that: "Leninism cannot play a key role in solving the major problems of our times." This criticism does not touch individual problems connected with Lenin's theory of revolution, but its entire system. The criticism has two major junctures: on the one hand Leninism as achieved is confusion in real socialism and on the other is the statement that Lenin's theory of revolution is inept for the solution of modern capitalist problems and for overcoming them. This criticism distorts the reality of socialism and denies the democratic content and humanism of the socialist political system. Its main method in connection with the capitalist world is a unilateral, categorical assessment of changes in the system.

A number of speakers examined the opposition between the social democratic ideology and Leninism, primarily on the level of relations between revolution and reform. They pointed out the attempts made during the interpretation of this question by social democratic ideological thinkers to stubbornly oppose Marx and Lenin, primarily in such a way that, in their opinion, Leninism is only one possible way of interpreting Marx. It is also possible to perceive in the social democratic ideology an attempt to practically return to Marx by supporting Bernstein. This was demonstrated by the theoretical discussions focussed around an interpretation of Bernstein's legacy in the world of social democracy.

Some of the comments touched on the strategic and tactical relations of communist parties in capitalist countries with Lenin's theory of revolution and explained their views on so-called "Eurocommunism."

During the deliberations the viewpoints which deny the usefulness of the theory of revolution in the developing world were surveyed. Their essence lies in the fact that they discard the possibility of noncapitalist development, and in their view a "march" along the road of capitalist development is inevitable in solving the problems of the so-called third world.

At the conference a number of speakers were concerned with the subjective factors of revolution, analyzed through criticism associated with Lenin's teachings. Both the bourgeois and the reform streams of thought primarily criticize the position occupied by the communist parties in directing the revolutionary process, the actual development of the parties, and their systems of operation. Almost together with these appear the concepts which deny the revolutionary spirit of the working class in the name of the appearance of the scientific and technological revolution and the "post-industrial society," stating that "this already belongs to the past." Referring unilaterally to the changes which have occurred in social structure, they claim that it is predominantly the middle classes which play a decisive role in society. During the discussions many people testified to the untenable nature of these views and showed that the position of the working class throughout capitalist society has not changed in quality, and that therefore denying their revolutionary role on this basis is an

unscientific endeavor. In addition several reports demonstrated the objective approach of the middle classes to the working class, plus the fact that the continuing struggle to transform society absolutely requires an alliance between the working class and the middle classes.

The deliberations of the theoretical conference provided a plastic picture of the viewpoints criticizing Lenin's theory of revolution, pointed out their roots and background, and contributed to deepening scientific criticism of these concepts.

During the 1981-1985 period the Problem Committee will discuss the thematic plan of scientific cooperation. Agreement was reached on the point that joint research can be justifiably conducted on the following subjects during the cycle of plans before us:

The Bulgarian section is responsible for: Criticism of the bourgeois criticism of real socialism;

The Czechoslovak section is responsible for: Lenin's theory of revolution and criticism of the anti-Marxist interpretation; Changes which have occurred in the position and nature of science and a criticism of bourgeois concepts about scientific and technological development;

The Polish section is responsible for: The role of propaganda in the ideological struggle;

The Hungarian section is responsible for: The life of youth under socialism;

The Mongolian section is responsible for: The ideological struggle within the circumstances of noncapitalist development;

The GDR section is responsible for: Criticism of the fundamentals, the major philosophies and the directions of world views in imperialist ideology;

The Soviet section is responsible for: Lenin's philosophical legacy and today's ideological struggle; and

The Vietnamese section is responsible for: The ideology of neocolonialism.

Below we are publishing an abbreviated version of the Hungarian contributions delivered at the conference.

International Factors in the Revolution: Laszlo Nagy

An essential factor in Lenin's theory of socialist revolution is an examination of international relations. Marx indicated that the international

attitude of the working class would have to oppose the international strength of capital. This is exactly why Lenin stated that: "From the viewpoint of Marxism it makes no sense to examine the position of only a single country."¹ International factors play an important role both in seizing power and in keeping it. Among other things, we find in the historical substance of Marxism that Lenin recognized the quantitatively new international relations of the imperialist period, and that during the blood bath of World War I he recognized the possibility that the international imperialist chain could be broken if we could find its weakest link.

After the civil war, when the Soviet power achieved unquestioned victory over the armies of 14 imperialist states, Lenin raised the question: "In the future will we be able to escape coming into collision with the...imperialist states?"² The answer given to this question contains the theoretical bases for peaceful coexistence: not only can the socialist revolution begin in a single country, but socialism can also be developed within one country. Developing and developed socialism will be the basis for world revolution if in the meantime peace can be assured between the most important imperialist powers and the socialist state, or if the socialist state develops a military arm which puts in doubt the results of a war initiated against it.

In our days the international factors in revolution are primarily determined by the existence and struggle between two world orders. The basic ethical, political, economic and military support for the revolutionary movements is primarily provided by the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states. The basic resistance to the revolutionary movements is the international imperialist camp led by the United States. The struggle between them is which one will primarily determine the international factors supporting or hindering the development and consolidation of the revolutionary movements. There is no single economic, social and political question which can be derived from this situation. The dialectic balance of power and connections between the internal and external factors of revolution have become closer. The possibility of beginning a revolution depends on internal factors. Revolutions are not exported, they mature in the womb of the previous society, but favorable international relations can help and facilitate the work of revolutionaries working in a given country. International factors play an ever increasing role in maintaining revolutionary power, in developing the revolutionary process and in transforming social and economic relations.

Recent decades have made it obvious that the consistent implementation of peaceful coexistence and the process of detente in international tension uniformly favor social progress and revolutionary movements. Social progress and especially its consistent implementation, the evolution of socialist orientation in newer and newer countries, and the intricate mutual relations between the processes of consolidating world

peace and strengthening detente continue. The process of detente increases the possibilities of social progress, and social progress narrows the socioeconomic grounds for a policy of war, and limits the power of monopolistic capitalism.

This is precisely why the international bourgeoisie, led by the United States, initiated a powerful counteroffensive against detente in the mid-1970's. This is why they repeatedly emphasized the old rejected demands that international peace be established according to the status quo of international social relations, that capitalism and neocolonialism remain "lord" in their own territory and that, if possible, the socialist position be weakened. This imperialist policy leads to the fact that the international position is temporarily strained in countries turning toward social progress, and this also exerts an effect on the general process of detente.

It is easy to see that the revolution can only be successful if it is supported by the dominant strength of the socialist community and by the major lines of battle strategy used against imperialism, and by peaceful coexistence, if it manages to avert the counterblows of imperialism, and if it manages to prevent imperialism from changing the ensuing situation into a worldwide military conflict. This is why it is of primary importance in the case of every revolution for there to be assurance of solidarity between a given country implementing revolution and the international communist movement, the progressive social forces, the national liberation movement, and naturally the countries of the socialist community. In our day those social revolutions are successful which advance under the sign of cooperation of the three main branches of the world revolutionary process.

The major instrument of international imperialism led by the United States against the revolutionary movements is the exportation of counterrevolution. This weapon is as old as capitalism itself. The most obvious form of the exportation of counterrevolution is armed force. The defeat of the United States in Vietnam made this weapon useless for a time. Making use of the break developed in this way, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and South Yemen have so far succeeded in avoiding large-scale direct armed imperialist intervention. However, attention must be given to the fact that the Vietnamese bankruptcy will slowly sink into oblivion in the consciousness of the American ruling classes. Military strength will again come to the foreground among the instruments of possible intervention against revolutions. Proof of this is American plans for establishing armies which can be rapidly transported and set up anywhere. Still, it appears that in our time the export of the counterrevolution will be primarily of an economic and ideological nature, especially with respect to the disruption of the internal social and economic systems in the existing socialist countries and the crippling of the social movements in Western Europe.

From this point of view it is interesting to analyze European developments since 1973. Even today it is doubtful that the breakthrough of democracy, which swept away Portuguese and Spanish fascism and the junta of Greek colonels, and brought the Italian and French communist parties within immediate reach of control, has decelerated.

This is composed of a great many factors.

First of all is the fact that capitalism, as a socioeconomic formation, has weathered the 1973-1975 economic crisis. The host of privations has been mitigated. The fact that some strategic and tactical concepts of the subjective forces of the revolution did not prove to be completely correct also played a role. Still, we must assert with full knowledge of our responsibility: In the fact that the democratic and revolutionary movements in Europe did not advance farther than they did during the recent economic crises of capitalism, the decisive factor was the fact that international capital found and collected the proper political, economic and ideological instruments to mitigate the revolutionary movement in Portugal and the thrust of Italian and French democracy. The Portuguese and Italian, and to a lesser extent the French, bourgeoisies obtained a great deal of help from their stronger class brothers, the American, West German and English bourgeoisies, in most cases with a coating of social democracy.

In this connection I would like to point out one of the topics of discussion, the so-called "Eurocommunism." In the first place the exact meaning of the term is not clear to me, although I know that its use is spreading more and more as a unilateral approximation of one type. However, in my opinion it is unalterable in the east-west direction from the Urals to the western party of Ireland.

As far as the essence of the discussions are concerned, our fraternal parties working in the economically developed capitalist countries of Western Europe will continue working in the future to develop strategies and tactics suitable for the world situation and their own relations by analyzing their past experience and discarding some concepts which did not prove out in practice. The communiques issued on the latest conferences of E. Berlinguer and L. I. Brezhnev, and on the conferences conducted between B. N. Ponomarev and the delegation from the Japanese Communist Party, attest to these processes. Additional testimony, among others, was given by the materials of the Italian Communist Party after the latest elections.³

Our task and the task of the parties in power can only be to aid this process with intelligent solidarity. In itself this solidarity can embrace scientific theoretical discussion with class brothers, but this must be protected from the incorrect classification of several points of view and from the fact that several viewpoints, under discussion and capable of discussion, within the international communist movement are considered identical and blend in with the main currents of bourgeois and reform ideology.

In view of the effect exerted on strategy and tactics during the elaboration of the international factors of the revolution by the Western European communist parties, it is necessary to count on two recent factors exerting great weight in the revolution-counterrevolution balance.

The first is the new increase in armament in Western Europe. The plan to station the medium-range rockets of American origin, the Pershing-2, and the winged rockets in Europe serve two purposes. On the one hand establishing this new weapons system is intended to provide military and strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and on the other hand they are intended to threaten the democratic and labor movements of the Western European communists, in full knowledge of the fact that the Western European bourgeoisies are ready to use weapons, and, if necessary, the force of American weapons in defense of class power. This danger is real, and among many other implications the conscious efforts made to avoid it can result in the communist and progressive parties in the Western European capitalist countries strengthening their cooperation with the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Pact, and can increase peaceful coexistence in their policies and measures taken to reinforce detente.

The second is to strengthen the tendencies toward political unity in Western Europe. This is no longer attested to only by the expansion of the European Economic Community and by strengthening the political nature of this economic organization, but by the renewal of direct elections for the European Parliament. This reinforces the political solidarity of the ruling classes in the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe, the answer to which can be increased solidarity among the communist, workers' and progressive movements in the countries concerned.

Real revolutions are breaking up in our times and revolutionary positions are being aborted in other, so-called developing, areas of the world. Let me mention two basic characteristics of these revolutionary movements. The first is that these revolutionary movements are not "purely typical," since in general there is no "purely typical revolution." These movements are occurring in areas where the proletariat element is relatively scarce because of centuries of colonial or semi-colonial backwardness, where the working class forms a minority in society and where ideas arising in the lower middle class hold sway. To an even greater degree we find that in these areas the anti-imperialistic, democratic and socialist tasks are intricately interwoven. All of this regularly gives rise to ideological heterogeneity appearing in the movements, all the way from religion to Marxism.

The second characteristic is that these revolutionary movements evolve in developing areas where, if we examine only the given countries, the economic relations have not yet reached the stage of socialist revolution in the sense of Marx, but the political relations "have outgrown it." This trait must be given due attention, because the need to answer many new

questions arises from it. First of all there is the matter that the solution of political opposition, along with the seizure of political power, leaves the economic and social problems, or even intensifies them. As a result of this, after the achievement of a political victory, social and political relations can arise and create domestic reasons for eliminating the revolutionary power through an overt counterrevolution (Chile), by means of a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat (Ghana) or by internal degeneration of power (Egypt).

Stemming from this, essential significance must be given to the question raised by Lenin as to what happens in the days following the revolution. What is necessary to consolidate the revolution, to transform complex social relations, to develop the economy, and to raise the standard of living of the masses? Today it appears that it is relatively easier to spark the revolution in certain definite areas of the so-called third world and to overthrow the old political system allied with imperialism, but it is more difficult than this to retain the power achieved and to support the proper political goals of socialist orientation through real social and economic development.

From this point of view it is worthwhile investigating the possible extent, forms and instruments of aid from existing socialist countries. The basic stock phrase of imperialist propaganda, with which it attacks the policy of peaceful coexistence and the process of detente, is that the "hand of Moscow" is behind every kind of revolution. This is naturally a lie. But the countries of the socialist community cannot deny that they are solidly with the real revolutionary movements, and this solidarity is the most important international factor in revolutions. The solidarity is aid. This aid can be of a military, economic, scientific, and cultural nature. It appears that the military and armed aid of the socialist countries is of decisive importance in seizing power and also provides military aid and protection to the revolutionary forces enjoying the support of masses of people and to governments which have attained power and enjoy legal, constitutional, revolutionary and popular support.

However, the manner of presenting aid must still be improved, and this is essential in helping to answer the question of what happens in the days following the revolution. But this is not only a question of increasing military aid, but of economic aid, particularly if we take into consideration the fact that the economic resources of the socialist countries are limited. When he referred to the international factors of revolution, Lenin stressed that the creative application of the experience of revolutions conducted earlier may be the greatest international aid which can be given to revolutions developing later. As a result of this our basic task is to transmit the experience of the socialist countries to the revolutionary movements. However, there should be a good examination of which experiences are involved. Since in our day the triumphant revolutionary movements are developing mainly in the formerly backward

areas of the world, the so-called developing areas, it is obvious that the earlier experiences struggling against backwardness will come to the foreground. In this respect the experience of the Asian republics of the Soviet Union and of Mongolia can be particularly significant.

However, the past is the past. From the point of view of revolutionary struggles in our day studying the current revolutionary experiences is of decisive importance. We might mention first the experiences of Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Algeria, and also, although in a negative sense in many respects, the experiences of Indonesia, Ghana, Mali and Egypt. A collective analysis of these is needed, with the cooperation of experts from the countries mentioned.

Two factors are primarily necessary for the further development of Lenin's theory of revolution:

- a) Avoidance of the right and "left" distortions of Lenin's theory and factual denial of the bourgeois theories of the revolution; and
- b) Concrete study of the revolutions begun, and of revolutionary positions achieved and aborted, along with deductions from the consequences flowing from them.

The Problem of the "Superiority" of Today's Social Democracy and of Capitalism: Peter Havas

Lenin's theory of revolution elicits social democratic criticism on two points in particular: the question of the relations of the continuous struggle for democracy and for socialism, and in this connection the position achieved by reforms in the revolutionary process in this respect. These questions represent two sides of the same problem, and are primarily of theoretical and political significance from the viewpoint of assessing the factual superiority of capitalism.

In as much as we are making the contemporary attitude of Lenin toward democracy and socialism a subject of analysis, it follows that on the one hand Lenin pointed out the class nature of capitalist democracy and its ensuing limits, but likewise stressed inseparably the importance of the continuing struggle for democracy in the interests of preparing the socialist revolution and triumphing with it. "The socialist revolution is not a single act, a single combat waged on a single front, but a complete era of the sharpest class conflicts on combined fronts, that is, a long series of battles waged in complex economic and political questions, battles which can only reach their end with the dispossession of the bourgeoisie. It would be a serious mistake to believe that the battle waged for democracy were capable of distracting the proletariat from the socialist revolution or obscuring it, pushing it into the background and so forth. On the contrary, how impossible a triumphant socialism would

be which did not implement complete democracy, did not prepare the proletariat to conquer the bourgeoisie, and did not continue in every way an extensive, persistent and revolutionary battle for democracy."⁴

In another aspect Lenin writes: "Socialism without democracy understood in two ways is impossible: 1. The proletariat cannot carry the socialist revolution through to its conclusion if it is not prepared by continued battles for democracy; 2. Triumphant socialism cannot retain its triumph, it cannot lead men to the death of the state if it does not completely implement democracy."⁵ At the same time Lenin clearly appraised the danger of the right reformers of this problem and of the left evaluation. He avoided the concept according to which socialism is separated from all democratic programs and put the emphasis on the new quality created by the socialist revolution.⁶ Along with this Lenin criticized the concept of the so-called "imperialist economization," among other reasons because it belittled the position and role of the democratic and parliamentary struggle.

Naturally we can scarcely comprehend how these quotations can solve the problems of our day, because their appearance is associated with a concrete historical period, and because since then essential modifications have taken place in capitalism and in its social class structure. Lenin's dialectic concept of the limits of capitalist democracy and its class nature, and also of how breaking down these class limits must be a result of broad democratic struggles, can precisely serve to guide the analysis of the relations of democracy and socialism today.

The characteristic of capitalist power relations today is that, although the ruling class power of the monopolies continues to manifest itself to a considerable extent in control exercised above the state, it also extends to every area of social relations, into every sphere of culture, ideology, politics and economic life. Power relations have become essentially more numerous and more complex. Furthermore, as a result of the crisis deepening all of the opposition to the capitalist world system, attacks upon the right of democratic freedom have become the objective. These must not be exaggerated and overstated, but the dangers existing in increasing oppressive tendencies can be seen. Therefore we can understand the efforts of the communist parties in the capitalist countries to place an expansion of democracy in the center of their strategy and thus try, first of all, to increase the effect of the working class and all of its allies whose interests oppose the domination of monopolistic capitalists. The purpose of the strategy is to implement power relations in such a way that the masses of the people with the leadership of the communists can take part in democratic demands and in the continuing struggle to create a democracy with a totally new content. In the end this struggle will transform the existing institutions, the parliament and the state, and thus must break open the class limits of capitalist democracy and open a road for power for the working class and its allies.

A necessary condition, but also a result, of this process is that the working class achieves a leading role. There can scarcely be any doubt that this strategy is a strategy of revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. This is a complete contrast with today's social democratic system of thought about the superiority of capitalism, which is practically identical to conformity with capitalism and its maintenance. In this respect the appearance of the social democratic movement as social reform is very characteristic. It unambiguously expresses the opposition to revolution. Actually no opposition between revolution and reform is justified, since in its implementation the social revolution can play and does play a role in instituting a number of reforms transforming society and the state. However, in distinguishing between the revolution and reform workers' movements, we are not thinking of this interpretation. In this case it is a matter of the affirmation or denial of the socialist transformation of society. Thus, in conformity with this, the revolution means a process of transition from the disappearance of one socioeconomic system to another socioeconomic system, while from the very beginning reform has meant a denial of any qualitative transformation, but a mere modification of a given socioeconomic system within its limits. Apparently today's social democracy is leaving the circuits of classic reformism, and B. Kreisky derives this conclusion in his own way from the historical developments preceeding World War II: "...When both social democracy perspectives, the reform one as well as the revolutionary one, led to blind alleys, it became necessary to find a new concept by means of which further democratization would be feasible in any area of society." Then he adds: "...In my opinion we must establish a difference between the much-discussed reforms changing systems and those improving systems of today, because this can help us elaborate prospects." With respect to the mutual relations of the two types of reform, Kreisky reports: "...The total of reforms or the intensity of one reform cannot be completely separable from quantity, and quantity suddenly becomes quality." However, as soon as the left sector of social democracy produces a more radical and more thorough interpretation of one type of reform, he firmly reports: "In this sense, in my opinion, social democracy is not a revolutionary force in the classic sense, but to a very great extent a reform movement."⁷

We can rightfully assert that social democracy today continues to interpret Lenin's concept of democracy and of reform in a biased manner. For example, Palme accuses the communists by saying that they discard all reforms which have been carried out. The basis of their negation is not the real significance of the reforms from the point of view of society or of the individual. It is much more the case that the reformers, the democratic socialists, carry out these reforms and that in the beginning their only virtue is to improve the system. Because there is only one thing which could change the system, the overthrow of the system. We will disregard what comes after the revolution."⁸ On the one hand Palme thus distorts the reform and revolutionary relations of Lenin, and on the other hand simply ignores the way in which the communist movement perceives and uses Lenin's theory of revolution in our day.

Summing up the goals of social democracy in the first place, Palme states the following: "...We are fighting firmly and solidly to preserve democracy. When society has changed, only the path of reform is compatible with such basic values of democracy as freedom of speech and religion."⁹ In accord with his idea he wishes to change society along the basic lines of social democracy, even "in essence with the aid of legislation."¹⁰ Thus it is not difficult to recognize the boundary line between this and social democracy reformism with the communist movement taking up the continual, widespread, popular struggle for democracy on the route leading to socialism.

The dogma of "peaceful transformation" of capitalism has an important position in the system of attitudes of social democracy, along with the abandonment of the concept of social revolution or an equal adulteration. Let us illustrate this last version with the opinion of P. Nenni: "The concept of 'revolution' was spread widely and became a concept of democratic development of society, the purpose of which is to attain a form creating equality of social life on a higher and higher level."¹¹ Scholars of ideology who have shifted somewhat to the right do not even include the concept of revolution in quotation marks, since they simply deny the capitalist nature of existing western societies. Bruno Kreisky thus argues in an interview given for SPIEGEL: "Wherever a modern industrial society lives, social development no longer reaches its conclusion by means of revolution. Modern society has enough opportunities to overcome social shortcomings without using the obsolete prescription of Marx referring to "expropriation of the expropriators." Today they can no longer be dispossessed, since they actually do not exist any longer."¹²

Therefore let us see how in theory this concept is closely dependent on the concept of convergence or "industrial societies," the basis of which is an abstraction based on production relations, technological fetishism and the reduction of forms of social movements to the level of natural evolution.

We are justified in noticing an important contradiction between the efforts and abilities of social democracy, a central dilemma of social democracy which in its own way answers the discussion which continues between the communists and the social democrats in judging the revolution, and in questions on Lenin's interpretation of the revolution, defense or criticism. In essence this is a matter of whether in the long run relations can be maintained between monopolistic capitalism on the one hand, the system of interests of multinational monopolies, and on the other hand the equivalent concept of democracy, freedom devoid of the idealized class content of social democracy, and whether it is possible to develop a "harmonic relationship" with social democracy alone or with the system of instruments presumed to belong to democracy alone. Kreisky himself presents the following: "If we want to continue democratization in every area of life, we must be very seriously concerned with a new method of controlling the changing structure."¹³ We have already spoken of how the Marxist-Leninists keep the expansion of democracy realistic through certain

conditions and strategies. But since the reflections of social democracy on the "preservation of the power structure" and on attempts at democratization are not buttressed by reality, it is interesting to listen to a bourgeois scholar, G. Rohrmoser. Since he clearly states that: "...Social democracy is not continuing the class struggle policy, and since its program is a social reform program," he continues: "Which methods do we want to use to reach it? With full and fundamental democratization of society." Afterward Rohrmoser states that the social policy developing for "equality and freedom" is not in harmony with the "structure of socioeconomic circumstances, or with the social market economy." The system of social security is separated from the economic capacity of the capitalist system." Then he adds: "If the system of social security becomes insecure as the basis and precondition of stability, they become uncertain together, perhaps in a dramatically shorter period of time than we expect and believe today, including the future of politically free parliamentary democracy."¹⁴ Obviously this is a dilemma for social democracy. The need to limit monopolies, especially multinational monopolies, is recognized more and more in social democracy circles. But an actual step against the monopolies is inconceivable without mass action, without social democracy daring to join the strength of the left. This possibility is not sympathetic to the cause of social democracy because it is too radical and understandably it leads to polarization of political forces. At the same time, when the capitalist system remains essentially untouched, suitable stimuli must be assured for the functioning of capital, which in essence is tantamount to applying it to the needs of the monopolies. The latter will understandably increase (and is already increasing) friction between trade unions, and discussions and opposition in social democracy. This opposition and this dilemma are not easy to solve, and we might add that in our opinion it is impossible in the concept of social democracy, and nothing proves this better than the fact that social democracy came to power in a number of countries in the past decade (not permanently in a single country), that the government party had no hesitation in implementing many useful reforms in both economic and political life, but was nevertheless incapable of eliminating exploitation and of solving the basic contradictions in society. This is guaranteed only by the strategy of the communist parties which, in the current relations, use the basic idea of Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution, namely that the bourgeois state must finally be liquidated and transformed, despite the concrete form in which it has developed, and it must be replaced by the vast working masses guided by the working class.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol 31, Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1972, p 355.
2. Lenin, "Selected Works," Vol III, p 479.

3. After the delivery of the speech, other important steps in the process were reported to the chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, Miyamoto Kenjinek, and the secretary-general of the French Communist Party, Georges Marchais by the secretary-general of the SZKP, L. I. Brezhnev of the Moscow Conference.
4. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol 27, p 244.
5. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol 30, p 125.
6. Lenin, "Collected Works," Vol 30, pp 368-369. "Never will the claims recognized in a minimal program, never will the claims of a minimal program in their complete totality result in a transition to another social system different in principle."
7. B. Kreisky, letter of 8 May 1973 (W. Brandt, B. Kreisky, O. Palme: "Letters and Conversations" and further on: "Letters and Conversations").
8. O. Palme, letter of 17 March 1972 ("Letters and Conversations").
9. O. Palme, letter of 29 April 1974 ("Letters and Conversations").
10. Ibid.
11. P. Nenni; "Die Strategie des Sozialismus" [The Strategy of Socialism], DIE ZUKUNFT, 1966, Nos 8-9.
12. B. Kreisky, interview for SPIEGEL, 1972, No 10.
13. B. Kreisky, letter of 8 May 1973 ("Letters and Conversations").
14. G. Rohrmoser, DIE PRESSE, 27/28 May 1978.

6806

CSO: 2500

BRIEFS

SOVIET VISITOR MEETS STANISHEV--Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has received Prof Viktor Popov, dean of the Diplomatic Academy at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU291606 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 28 Mar 80 AU]

LUKANOV TO MOSCOW--Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, permanent representative of Bulgaria to CEMA, left for Moscow today in order to attend the 94th session of the CEMA Executive Council. [Text] [AU312244 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 31 Mar 80 AU]

CSO: 2200

HOXHA BOOK ON TRADE UNIONS REVIEWED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 29 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Qirjako Mino: "The Trade Unions--Schools of Communism"]

[Excerpts] The basic idea about the role of the trade unions as "schools of Communism" and powerful levers of the party to link the party with the working class permeates all the material contained in the volume of Enver Hoxha "Per Bashkimet Professionale" [On the Trade Unions]. Of particular importance are the teachings of Comrade Enver in connection with the struggle against foreign manifestations in the activity of the trade unions, manifestations which have appeared in various forms and on different occasions and which are not compatible with the role of the trade unions as schools of Communism. Such manifestations as the treatment of problems from a purely administrative aspect and not from a political and ideological aspect, a one-sided treatment of problems, separating education from the economy or being concerned with minor issues, without grasping the main point, have been exposed in time, their danger has been demonstrated and means have been found to surmount them. All these things improve the activity of the trade unions and perfect their work method and style.

The main duty of the trade union organization has been and remains the communist education of the workers. This problem is treated from positions of dialectical materialism, combating every examination and treatment of education as an aim in itself. In this connection, the opinion which is expressed on some occasions that the trade unions should be concerned only with education and should not take up economic problems is very erroneous. Of course, as Comrade Enver stresses, the trade unions should not do the work of the state and economic organs or duplicate their work. But it is completely inexcusable for them not to be interested in production and in the implementation of the tasks of the state plan.

Comrade Enver stresses the understanding and realization of the "defense" function of the trade unions under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, treating it as inseparable from their role as schools of Communism. In this connection, at the first party congress, Comrade Enver emphasized that they will always remain organizations which defend the

material and cultural interests of the workers. Many of the documents included in this volume set forth the duties of the trade unions in protecting the lives of the workers, even in the most minor situations, and in struggling courageously against anything which harms the rights of workers guaranteed by the party and by the laws of the state.

These teachings serve as a basis for the activity of the trade unions in the exercise of the function of "defense." They have struggled against any manifestation of a "trade unionist" treatment of this problem, which is expressed on some occasions by the placing of an emphasis on rights while forgetting duties and by unhealthy solidarity and petit-bourgeois sentimentality which is sometimes shown in regard to those who err and who violate laws. Also, according to the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver, it is necessary to struggle against the opportunistic and liberal attitudes of some trade union activists, against the bureaucratic and arbitrary actions of those managers who do not implement legislation on the rights of workers in regard to living and working conditions and technical safety.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

TIRANA RADIO REPORTS ON 1979 EARTHQUAKE SYMPOSIUM

AU051455 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Apr 80 AU

[Excerpt] A scientific symposium on the 15 April 1979 earthquake opened today in Shkoder City. The symposium is organized by the academy of sciences, the ministry of construction, Tirana State University and the people's council executive committees of Shkoder and Lezhe districts. The symposium is attended by members of the staffs of various research and scientific institutes, seismologists, geologists, construction specialists, representatives from various districts and others. The symposium is also attended by Spiro Koleka, AWP Central Committee politburo member and deputy chairman of the presidium of the people's assembly; Qirjako Mihali, AWP Central Committee politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the council of ministers; Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee secretary and Shkoder district party committee first secretary; Minister of Constructions Rahman Hanku; Muho Asllani, minister without portfolio; Aleks Buda, president of the academy of sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Prapo Dervishi, director of the general directorate of communal economy, and others. The symposium is also attended by scientists from other countries like Prof. Dr. E. Peterschmidt, director of the European and Mediterranean Seismological Center; Dr. Furnie D'Albe, director of the environmental sciences section of UNESCO; representatives of scientific institutions from Belgrade, Kosovo and Montenegro, and others.

The symposium was opened by Prof. Luan Omari, scientific secretary of the academy of sciences.

CSO: 2100

ARMY PAPER EDITORIAL CALLS FOR STRICTER DISCIPLINE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Mar 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Discipline and Military Readiness"]

[Text] In speaking of armed combat against a strong and perfidious enemy, V. I. Lenin emphasized that for victory over the enemy it is essential to have "military discipline and military vigilance raised to the highest limits." At present this Leninist tenet for the troops is even more valid.

The significance of discipline in the air defense troops and the air force has grown particularly much. The arming of them with the most advanced aviation equipment and complicated antiaircraft missile complexes which are collectively used weapons require high coordination and accuracy in the actions of the personnel in their combat use. Under these conditions slowness and lack of discipline even by one man can lead to the nonfulfillment of the combat mission. From this derives the increased responsibility of each man for his discipline and prompt execution of duties as part of a crew, squad, team or squadron.

New weapons and modern technology require a new approach to an evaluation of the time factor in terms of all its aspects. At present, when the speeds of our probable enemy's air attack weapons have substantially risen, and the time required for them to reach our territory is constantly declining, the necessity has arisen for us to count not only minutes, but also seconds and even a fraction of a second. To put it differently, at present there must be not only discipline of personal conduct, but also discipline of the flights, discipline of time, and discipline of combat duty. All of them are very important elements of combat readiness which directly influence the carrying out of combat missions by the personnel.

Particularly strict are the demands placed on the discipline of combat duty. Here even individual mistakes can be irretrievable. For this reason the precise observance of the regulations, instructions and order which outline the procedure for standing a tour of duty must become the law for each crew, shift or team. Discipline of combat duty demands that the men standing it show such moral-combat qualities as awareness, self-control, courage and total dedication.

One of the most important indicators for the state of discipline in the units is strict observance of the procedures involved in the safekeeping, daily operation and combat use of the equipment and weapons. Where efficiency has become a recognized necessity of the entire collective, the weapons and equipment are constantly ready for action.

The indoctrination of the men in a spirit of high discipline and unswerving execution is a complicated and diverse process. It requires from the commanders and political workers great efforts, constant attention, pedagogical skill and the ability to have an indoctrinational influence on one's subordinates. This is because discipline is one of the essential indicators showing the spiritual make-up, ideological maturity, political and moral awareness of each soldier. This moral and political quality shows not only to what degree a person understands the demands made upon him by society, the military regulations and instructions, but also his ability to carry them out under any conditions. Effective work in the area of strengthening discipline, order and organization is carried out by the commanders, the political bodies, the staffs, the party and Komsomol organizations in the units where officers Sinapov, Kolev, Radev and others serve. While not everything is perfect in them, the attention of these military collectives is constantly focused on creating proper order and the necessity of unconditional execution in carrying out each mission.

A number of other units also have positive aspects in indoctrinating aware discipline among the men. But the increased demands, the complexity and nature of the missions carried out by the troops oblige all to increase the standard in assessing the results of their work. In individual units the state of service, discipline and indoctrination of the men do not fully meet high party demands.

The commanders and superiors play the main role in maintaining strong discipline. The law gives them broad disciplinary rights which they are obliged to use rationally. The personal example of the commander is assuming ever greater significance in the observance of the laws, regulations and moral standards. Uniform proper and just exactingness shown by the commander to all his subordinates multiplies the capabilities of the men, it inspires them to surmount any difficulties, and introduces organization and purposefulness in their actions.

The experience of the best commanders has shown that each of them combines great exactingness with concern for his subordinates, he constantly studies their characters and motives of conduct, and patiently conducts individual indoctrination. Such commanders have won the trust of the entire military collective. They carefully think through their orders and instructions, they make them conform to the training and educational level of their subordinates, and are able to determine the main thing in the struggle for conscious discipline.

The air defense and air force troops are a powerful, coordinated and precisely functioning organism of the Bulgarian People's Army and which successfully carries out the complicated and responsible tasks of defending our air frontiers. One of the most important factors in further carrying out the party's strategic slogan for high efficiency and high quality in the life of the troops is a continuous strengthening of the discipline, organization and order in each unit.

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

GREEK TU DELEGATION VISITS--Sofia, 29 Mar (BTA)--A delegation of the General Confederation of Greek Labour, headed by Mr Christos Karakitsos, secretary general of the confederation, arrived in Sofia today. The Greek delegation had official talks with a delegation of the CC of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, led by Mr Misho Mishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. For the first time in the history of Bulgaro-Greek TU contacts a meeting is held on such a level. The heads of the two delegations informed each other of the work of trade unions in Bulgaria and in Greece. Possibilities for expansion of cooperation were discussed. [Text] [AU292042 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 29 Mar 80 AU]

BULGARO-GREEK COOPERATION--Sofia, 27 Mar (BTA)--Bulgaria and Greece exchanged ratification documents of the agreement on legal assistance on civil and criminal law here today. Taking this opportunity, the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria Mr Mariy Ivanov and the Greek ambassador to Bulgaria Mr Andonios Nomikos emphasized again the positive development of Bulgaro-Greek relations in the sphere of politics, economics and culture. The conviction of the two states that the further expanding of their cooperation will make a contribution to consolidating peace and understanding in the Balkans, to consolidating the process of detente in the world, was confirmed. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 27 Mar 80 AU]

NEW CONGOLESE AMBASSADOR--The newly appointed ambassador of the People's Republic of Congo to Bulgaria, Lauren Mann, has arrived in Bulgaria. [Text] [AU021302 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Mar 80 p 2 AU]

TANCHEV ACTIVITIES IN SAN MARINO--Rome, 21 Mar (BTA correspondent)--Mr Petur Tanchev, first vice president of the state council and secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, paid a short visit to the Republic of San Marino. He was received by the Captains-Regent of the republic. Mr Peter Tanchev met also Mr Giordano Bruno Reffi, secretary of state for foreign affairs of the Republic of San Marino. At their talks, which proceeded in friendly atmosphere, they discussed issues related to the development of bilateral relations. Problems of peace and security were also on the agenda. Stress was laid on the significance of the forthcoming Madrid meeting. The meetings were also attended by Mr Alvaro Selva, secretary of state for internal affairs. [Text] [AU211959 Sofia BTA in English 1828 GMT 21 Mar 80 AU]

LEADERS IN SILISTRA--A joint session of the Silistra Okrug BCP Committee Bureau and of the Silistra Okrug People's Council Executive Committee was held in the town of Silistra today. The session was attended by Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee politburo member and secretary, as well as by Drazha Vulcheva, deputy chairman of the council of ministers, and by Georgi Karamenev, minister of domestic trade and public services. The session was addressed by Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of the Silistra Okrug BCP Committee on subjects of local plan fulfillment results and on the application of the new economic mechanism, as well as new economic approach in Silistra okrug. [AU281124 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 28 Mar 80 AU]

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EXILE DISCUSSES DISSIDENCE, REPRESSION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Brussels LE SOIR in French 5 Mar 80 pp 0001

[Article by Vladimir Fiscera]

[Text] Vladimir Fiscera is one of the Czechoslovak Socialist opposition spokesmen in exile. He is living in England where he is teaching political sciences at the Portsmouth Polytechnic School. While passing through Belgium, at the time of the seminar on the universality of the rights of man, he was invited by the "French-speaking Belgian International Amnesty" to participate as an Emcee. He discussed with us, in both their historical and political context, the dissidence and repression existing in his country and elsewhere in Europe. He also told us how he thought the West could--and should--intervene there to protect the rights of man. His data and his opinions are solely his and not those of "Amnesty International."

In 1968, after Soviet tanks had invaded Czechoslovakia, normalization meant the exclusion of one third of the Communist Party, or 525,000 members. The remaining 988,000 members were among the majority of those citizens who had taken their party card as a measure intended to ensure their career. As a matter of fact, even if minor jobs were to be entrusted to non-members, only Communists, as a rule, would have any hope of being promoted. In education, for example, child-care specialists on upper-secondary levels must be fully fledged Communists.

By dismissing rebellious members--and condemning them at the same time to losing their important jobs--the government isolated undesirable elements and frightened the Party's Centrist members who, alone, moreover, were obliged to keep silence and who were encouraged to amuse themselves by watching Czech athletic games on TV. The deal could therefore be summed up in this manner: "Keep quiet and mind your work. If you approve Russian intervention, you will be promoted. If you protest, however, you will be dismissed."

This first stage ended in 1972 by activities engaged in by opposing leaders, those who were closest to Dubcek, among them, Sabata, who was sentenced to 7 years in prison.

Running into Debt

Toward the end of 1973, the situation began to improve on both the economic and political plane. Up to this time, to make up for its dictatorial intervention, the USSR held Czechoslovak economy at arm's length. Now the Soviet Union, on embarking on a difficult period itself, gradually decreased its help. Czech economy felt its effects. The standard of living dropped and the people protested. As recently shown by a study made by some outstanding--although unemployed--Czechoslovak economists such as Petr Pithart, destitution and the poor quality of consumer products only make things worse by giving rise to a "second economic system," or a parallel system based on the black market, bartering, corruption and illegal work, which are the people's sole means of survival. Bartering is commonplace in exchanges between companies. Unfortunately, at the foreign trade level, the USSR can no longer be a party to this game.

From now on, it is Czechoslovakia's turn to be indebted to its partner, with no hope of wiping out its debts. As a matter of fact, it has exhausted its basic sources of power. Its economy relies more than ever on them. Since oil is scarce, the USSR does not wish to sell it at a loss to Czechoslovakia, whose supplies in this area have practically not increased at all in 3 years. Besides, machines supplied by Prague are increasingly less competitive, and the productivity of the work is too low. Any economic reform, even slight, is impossible, for it would run the risk of arousing the specter of the "Prague Spring," and would necessitate a rapprochement not only with the ideas but also with the men excluded from power.

Repression

Moreover, the Soviets, who for a long time, had maintained certain contacts with a Czech opposition party, in order to intimidate Husak by making him realize that he was not irreplaceable, have now signed the Helsinki agreements and are addressing themselves to the task of wiping out dissent among them, and at the same time, among their satellites by interposing "brother" governments.

The USSR knows that, by the very nature of its system, it cannot abide by the Helsinki agreements, any more than could yesterday's pro-Franco Spain or today's Chili. In fact, these agreements, just as the 1968 Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, the 1966 International Pact relating to cultural, social and economic rights, or the ILO [International Labor Organization] recommendations presuppose an international recommendation which would oblige recognition on matters of elementary rights (the rights of man, rights of association...) by national authorities. On the other hand, they assume the existence of a state law in which justice is independent

of other powers; in which the state is independent of the party; or where the state, in so far as it is the origin of law, protects the citizen against institutions even though they are state related. In bureaucratic governments, the same principles of state rights are becoming further and further removed from the norms which underlie the above international agreements.

For example, the new constitutions and the new labor laws legalize the party's monopoly in the state and economic life, including union activity, and make striking illegal. The Soviet vs Kartachkin (in "Socialist Countries and the Rights of Man," Paris, UNESCO, 1978, p 683) speaks in this manner of "political freedoms as interpreted from the point of view of class status as a condition for the strengthening of workers (sic) and the disseminating of Socialist ideology, which excludes the "freedom" of anti-socialist propaganda. The right to work likewise includes everyone's obligation to work and to comply with working regulations."

Now, we know--and the ILO has just reproved Prague for it--that it was in the name of respect for work regulations and at the request of "their" union that the Czechoslovak Charter members were discharged from their jobs, for they were deliberately disrupting the working environment. "And Kartachkin concludes: In any society, freedom is created by the socio-political system of the state." Therefore, opponents are to be reduced to silence; isolated at home, if they mention Dubcek; expelled from their country, if they are nationally but not internationally unknown; finally "hit," that is, put in prison, if they are little or not at all known, as V. V. Bilak, the number two Czechoslovak, says in LE MONDE of 4 July. The others will be deprived of work, which is very easy to do when the state is the employer. It is hard for the Western mind to imagine a situation such as this. What is easily imagined, on the contrary, is Moscow's present motivation, namely, to drive them all out before the 1980 Olympic Games, separate the active opponents from the other more moderate ones, and especially from public view, by a well-tried means: fear.

Charter 77 and the VONS

This twofold--economic and political--development coincides with a change of attitude on the part of the dissidents themselves: In view of the failure of their inclination to believe that they could prevail upon the Russians by negotiating with them, they saw take form a more radical position which is clearly stated in the famous "Charter 77," which 2,000 people have now signed.

But, within the very movement itself, there emerged a new movement which little by little stressed the organization of a more direct, more active, more positive resistance. This movement, thereafter the major one within the Charter, attaches great importance to worker independence and to the rise of free labor unions. Like the Polish KOR [Workers Defense Committee], it is organizing mobile universities and pop-music concerts. It is publishing studies on specific subjects, such as the Hungarian gypsy problem of religious freedom.

In addition, within the Charter movement, they have set up a "Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Harassed People: 'the VONS.'" Its objective is to reveal instances of people being persecuted for their opinions and to be present at their trial. They have to their credit 113 press releases, each one dealing with specific cases, generally of youth, workers, or country folk, in short, the rank and file, regarding whom they give data similar to that in the files of the "Amnesty International," a movement from which they almost seem to have borrowed their methods. The VONS has, moreover, been described by Zdena Tominova in these words: "In its activities, the VONS follows the same principles as those followed by "Amnesty International" national sections. It is based on the Czechoslovak legal code and insists on its exact and impartial application, when calling attention to cases where the law has not been carried out."

A New Wave of Arrests

The past May and June arrests were made to break up this network. They wanted to get rid of the leaders. If they refused to keep silent or to emigrate, they then tried to break down their physical resistance (as was the case with Milos Kajak, Berlinguer's friend, who was seriously ill from nervous exhaustion), or they instituted proceedings against them under false pretexts (as in the Sabata case). The Charter representatives have recently written an open letter to the UNESCO general manager, Mr Mbow, to remind him that last 29 May, while he was being greeted with every honor in Prague, they arrested 15 dissidents just two steps away.

This repression wave is the most serious one since 1971, for it includes many arrests in the provinces.

In their letter to Mr Mbow, the Charter representatives did not request the revival of the cold-war climate, as did certain Russian dissidents in exile. But they did insist that every Westerner in contact with Eastern dignitaries be informed of the opposition situation, and work jointly with this opposition in order to alleviate the sufferings of those who are fighting for the Rights of Man in Eastern Europe.

This solidarity is very necessary at the present time when, in the United States, Carter's policy is running the risk of markedly reducing his pressure now that the SALT II Agreements have been signed.

This is a matter of defending political prisoners and persons the victims of professional interdict, which is tantamount to economic and social death. To defend them all. But also to fight for the right to think and to freely participate in the VONS, in free labor unions, the Helsinki committees, in religious or ethnic organizations; to demand a public trial and the presence of observers representing Western labor organizations and those involved in the defense of the Rights of Man. Finally, we must insist that freely chosen lawyers be allowed to defend the accused, as their families are demanding (the last Czechoslovak lawyer not officially appointed, Joseph Danisz, has just been thrown into prison).

The resemblance between the VONS objectives and methods and those of "Amnesty International" is an additional reason for committing oneself to these accused. As V. Havel recently stated, the major enemy is fear and the remedy is specific action, even in small things. Let us not forget that persecution and fear are dependent on another ingredient: silence. Either to speak up or to keep silence, that depends on us.

8870

CSO: 8019

WORLDWIDE SUBVERSION PROMOTED BY SOLIDARITY FUND

Prague SVET PRACE in Czech 17 Mar 80 p 17

[Interview with Comrade Ladislav Opatrny, head of the international department of the Central Council of Trade Unions]

[Text] Members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement at this time order the solidarity stamp and post it in their membership cards. By means of this stamp a trade union member (1) contributes to the trade union Solidarity Fund and in this manner (2) expresses his personal attitude toward the people in many countries and to trade-unionists abroad who are members of revolutionary and progressive forces.

Considering all that follows from the contemporary world development--Karel Hoffmann, member of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, spoke on the subject at the 8th plenum (meeting) of the Central Council of Trade Unions--we must draw the proper conclusions. We must take into account that the individual socialist countries, countries of socialist orientation, countries which have opted for development independent of imperialism--and even more so the revolutionary and progressive forces in the remaining countries--will be subject to increased pressure, discrimination and blackmail attempts. Therefore, this situation confronts us with a completely new and far more urgent requirement not only to strengthen the unity of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world but also to reinforce our solidarity with them and offer them all-round support and assistance.

We discussed the Solidarity Fund in greater detail with Comrade Ladislav Opatrny, head of the international department of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

[Question] What is the international importance of the Solidarity Fund?

[Answer] Since its inception the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has considered the consistent implementation of the principles of proletarian internationalism to offer effective material assistance to progressive

trade union organizations in the world precisely through the Solidarity Fund. For instance, the Fund supports their own trade union activities, helps them to train union cadres and assist the trade unions in their struggle to achieve their just demands, trade union rights, social progress and peace.

In this way the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement assists in increasing and consolidating ties of fraternal cooperation between the Czechoslovak people and the progressive forces all over the world by actively developing this solidarity. At the same time it contributes to further strengthening unity of action and action capability of international workers and trade union movement.

[Question] What are the results?

[Answer] Very positive. They were highly praised by foreign trade union members during many international meetings, especially from the speakers' platform of the 9th World Trade Union Congress. Czechoslovak trade unions give the utmost attention to solidarity and material assistance to fraternal trade union headquarters in the socialist countries outside Europe. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and our working people, for instance, have recently developed a broad drive of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam who are fighting Chinese aggression as well as restoring its country which was destroyed by war. Czechoslovak trade unions have rendered the Federation of Vietnamese Trade Unions material assistance (besides other things, they will also participate in construction of the House of Culture of the Vietnamese trade unions in Haiphong), make possible recreation trips to Czechoslovakia for numerous groups of Vietnamese trade unionists, etc.

The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement has given assistance to the young Laotian trade union headquarters, among others. A sanatorium was built for Mongolian trade unions. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement supplied the equipment used in the people's trade union school "L. Peni" in Cuba, etc. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement offers significant solidarity and material help to trade union organizations in developing countries, also, however, It does this primarily by holding six week seminars in its Central Trade Union School, "A. Zapotocky", for unionist cadres of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We participate in ensuring the activity of the International Committee of Solidarity with Chile, which is located in Prague. Our trade unions also offer solidarity and support to the struggle of the Chilean working people against the fascist junta and for the introduction of fundamental democratic rights in the country. Similarly, support is given to the struggle of Uruguyan trade unionists against the dictatorship and for restoration of a democratic regime. We are assisting the indefatigable struggle of the working people and trade unions in the Arab countries against repeated Israeli aggression and especially for the achievement of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, etc.

Czechoslovak trade unions make possible medical treatment and recuperation in CSSR for many trade union officials from progressive central offices in the developing as well as capitalist countries.

Together with other central offices of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Czechoslovak trade unions also participated in material assistance organized by that Federation in support of the struggle of the Nicaraguan trade unionists, where a special plane was dispatched. And in Angola, we are cooperating in the preparation for constructing a trade union school, an effort organized by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

[Question] How does the effectiveness of the Solidarity Fund manifest itself?

[Answer] First of all, it does this in the fact that the assistance is offered promptly and corresponds to the actual needs of the organizations which urgently require it. Thus, for instance, the Portuguese trade unions' central office CGTP-IN was given material assistance to help the victims of great floods which that country suffered in 1979. To the children of trade union members in the capitalist countries who run into difficulties, e.g., as a result of mass firing from their jobs, the Czechoslovak trade unions give the possibility of a stay in pioneer camps in the CSSR. We offered material help to Yugoslav trade unions immediately after the earthquake in Montenegro.

[Question] What is to be achieved this year within the framework of the activity of the Solidarity Fund?

[Answer] Activities this year include, especially, medical treatment and recreation for foreign trade union officials, ensuring the possibility of short-term practical training in production for the working people of certain countries (e.g., Mongolia), etc. The year 1980 is the 25th anniversary of the founding of pioneer camps of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. Therefore, Czechoslovak trade unions are planning to establish eight pioneer camps in CSSR for children of trade union members from France, Italy, England, Greece, Portugal, Cyprus, Angola and Vietnam.

We will continue to give assistance to progressive trade union headquarters in developing countries in equipping their organizations and ensuring their activities, outfitting the trade union schools; also, we will continue to ensure the activity of the International Committee of Solidarity with Chile, located in Prague, and to organize seminars for trade union cadres from developing countries.

[Question] What can the competing collectives and the BSP [expansion unknown] do in that regard?

[Answer] Our working people have already demonstrated many times that they are bound by unbreakable ties of proletarian internationalism with the

working people of the entire world and their progressive trade unions, fighting for social progress, trade union rights, national independence, freedom and peace. We believe therefore that they will also show their international solidarity with trade unionists of various countries who will urgently need it in the coming years.

Within the framework of the Solidarity Fund competition, individuals as well as labor collectives can contribute to strengthen its basis by their personal commitments, by working extra shifts, by organizing collections and in a number of other ways.

We are convinced that the competing collectives and the BSP will continue to be in the vanguard of this effort. Deep internationalist feeling is a part of the socialist content of their work and life. "The Book of the International Solidarity Fund of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement," a kind of honor roll, has been established since January 1, 1980. In addition to the best collectives and individuals, judged in the Solidarity Fund competition, the BSP will also be registered there. And it is precisely up to the BSP to make it possible that the registrations constantly increase.

Suggestions for commitment:

- (1) to purchase solidarity stamps from the proceeds of collecting old newspapers or scrap [metal];
- (2) to work an extra shift for the Solidarity Fund;
- (3) to purchase solidarity stamps of a specific value;
- (4) to convince additional coworkers about the importance of the Solidarity Fund and their contribution, about the collective but also entire shop working an extra shift;
- (5) assist the trade union organ to sell solidarity stamps.

6314

CSO: 2400

LER SPEAKS ON 'MEASURES' TO CENTRAL BOHEMIAN AKTIV

Prague SVOBODA in Czech 18 Mar 80 p 3

[Text] The basic creative thoughts which set the image of the Synthesis of Measures for Further Development of Closely-Targeted Management of the National Economy After 1980, emanate from the directives of the 15th Party Congress, which emphasize improved quality and efficiency in our work. Experience has shown that, despite measures adopted heretofore, the present system of management as a whole does not sufficiently consider the fact that we are entering a new stage in which our economy will develop under more demanding internal and external economic conditions. These new conditions and tasks place higher demands on functional efficiency throughout the economic mechanism. The Synthesis of measures concretely outlines the changes which will be effected in the vital areas of closely-targeted management, in planning, material stimulation, in actual management, organization, and increased participation by labor in management. The common denominator which knits the Synthesis of Measures into a single entity, is the intent to make all levels of management feel increased and more effective pressure on higher mobilization and more efficient use of all resources toward achieving the best possible end results benefiting our entire society. Goals which have been set forth must be reached, above all, via higher quality in the very content of the plan. Emphasis on higher-quality planning on all levels, is insured by strengthening its scientific application, its long-term perspective, attention to all its component parts and internal relationships, in a targeted, programmatic approach.

It is important to stress the role of the 5-year plans as the principal instruments in the implementation of Party economic and social policies. The 5-year plan will set the main tasks, limits, and prerequisites for the individual years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan in a manner which will make it more than merely a "sum total" of the results of individual years.

What we need most is to implement measures to improve planned management and the organization of material relationships in the national economy. Material balancing of sources and needs must be intensified in the central planning bodies, ministries, and economic production units. Along with a broader application of the system of management, we must increase the responsibility of production organs, VHJ (economic production units), and enterprises for satisfying society's needs.

Cooperation between production and consumption organs in the preparation and implementation of plans, must definitely be improved. Between the VHIJs and enterprises, there will be long-term contractual relations based on the tasks of the 5-year plan. The binding character of contracts will be stressed, as well as the responsibility for their fulfillment.

In order to better evaluate results by concrete contribution to society, there will be a rise in the importance of indicators expressing the tasks in improving efficiency, technology, and quality. For this reason, the introduction of an indicator of performance as such, is a highly principled measure. It will be used toward adjusting the development of most wage funds, as well as for computing effectiveness, and expressing qualitative tasks of the plan, especially productivity. This should increase pressure on management in fuels and energy, and prevent speculation in the selection of sources. There will be special emphasis on qualitative parameters, fulfillment of tasks in research and development, and on price limits of new products. The Synthesis of Measures counts on binding planning of the share of high-quality and technically-progressive products, but also on making obsolete products undesirable in terms of prices. Several measures are being introduced to raise the effects of science and technology in the system of closely-targeted management.

In the preparation and introduction of new investments into the plan, more demanding criteria will be applied, first of all, in implementation of technological development, introduction of new technology, economy in the work force, etc.

Khozraschet, as a method of closely-targeted management, will be developed as a unified system of economic relations between society and economic mechanics. The price, credit, and fiscal systems will enhance interest in the fulfillment of planned tasks.

There have been basic changes in the criteria for the creation of wage funds. Wages will be formed in two components. The first will be based on performance as such, while the size of the incentive component will depend on the rentability of production funds or production indicators.

In the Seventh 5-Year Plan it is envisaged that the relationship between the amount of wage funds and results achieved, will be set for the entire 5-year period.

Mastering the demanding economic tasks requires better management. The economic production units will gradually be reorganized into basic components of management.

9496

CSO: 2400

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SEEN AS KEY FACTOR IN BLOC INTEGRATION

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 25 No 3, Mar 80 signed to press 31 Jan 80 pp 20-33

[Article by Dr Hans-Georg Haupt, Dr Renate Neumann and Dr Kurt Schickram, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee, East Berlin: "International and National Factor in the Shaping of Developed Socialism." A translation of SED CC International Relations Secretary Hermann Axen's article cited in footnote 8 below is published under the heading, "Axen on Proletarian Internationalism in Light of October Revolution," in JPRS 70417, 5 Jan 78, No 1492 of this series, pp 14-27]

[Text] The relationship between the international and national factor has always been a basic issue in the struggle of the workers class and a key problem in Marxist-Leninist theory. The classical authors of Marxism-Leninism always proceeded from the proposition "that the emancipation of the workers class is neither a local nor a national but a social task comprising all countries."¹ Thus the Marxist-Leninist parties have for one of their urgent tasks to shape the relationship between the international and the national factor in such a way that optimum conditions are created in every country, in conformity with the given stages and concrete preconditions of the struggle, for developing the revolutionary world process, for socialist and communist construction and, finally, for bringing to realization the historic mission of the workers class.

The SED Program describes the shaping of developed socialist society as a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. During this period the important thing is providing high-level development for all advantages and impulses of socialism and all sides and areas of public life, especially the productive forces and production relations. That is a revolutionary process. In recent years the working people in the countries of the socialist community have achieved important successes in all domains of political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural life. The practical requirements in the construction of socialism and communism led here to creative theoretical discussions about the inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction, the historic place and criteria of developed socialism, and the tasks, problems and contradictions to be faced in the first phase of communist society, in

socialism. One of the basic problems lies in recognizing and solving the tasks and demands newly arising for consciously shaping the dialectics between the international and the national factor and what is class-relevant.

"The socialist revolution and the construction of socialism are social processes subject to general inevitabilities, in whatever country or nation they may take place. For that reason, universal features international in character are bound to become prominent in these processes. At the same time, the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism always take place in a specific country and specific nation on the basis of any given concrete-historic particulars, traditions and accomplishments. Socialist society thus is an inseparable unity of the national and international factor, with the general inevitabilities and the decisive essential features of socialism being international in character."²

The International and the National Factor and Class Relevance

The most important and greatest achievement of the international workers class is that the socialist world system embodies the unity of the international and national factor and class relevance at a new historic stage of development.

In the worldwide era of transition from capitalism to socialism, socialism exists in the form of a system of sovereign socialist states united with each other through the identity of their basic interests and goals. On the basis of identical political and economic relations and of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, socialism "creates new and higher forms of human fellowship where the just demands and progressive aspirations of the working masses of every nationality are for the first time satisfied in international unity, with the national barriers we now have falling by the wayside."³

The socialist world system is of a new socioeconomic quality. The universal inevitabilities of socialist construction and the objective inevitabilities of all-round rapprochement, and ever closer fusion, and the assimilation among the economic developmental levels of socialist states are operative in it. By creating these inevitabilities, socialism creates the prerequisites for the nations and peoples to grow together and into a new and higher unity. This is a historic process led and implemented by the workers class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party as the historic subject.

The fundamental class interests of the workers class are brought to realization in the form of the organized state along with socialist construction, the centerpiece of which is the formation and perfecting of the socialist mode of production. The socialist workers and farmers state "is the chief instrument of the working people led by the workers class in shaping the developed socialist society proceeding toward communism."⁴ It is within this framework that the socialist mode of production, the class structure and the social superstructure develop. Thereby also are created and perfected the economic, political and ideological foundations for the blossoming and rapprochement of the socialist states and nations.

It follows from the fact that the state provides the organizational forms for socialist construction that the relations among the nations living in the socialist world system are governmental and social relations under the direction of the communist parties. Questions having to do with the development of the nations and their interactions have a historic, economic and political content that is dictated by class considerations. They are in essence determined by the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction.

The successful implementation of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction is the most important internationalist duty of each and every communist party. In this sense Erich Honecker announced at the Ninth SED Congress: "Our new program proceeds from the recognition of the universal inevitabilities in the construction of socialist society. It is pervaded with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, which are sacred to every communist. The national and the international factor, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, are inseparably connected with each other in our policy. Our party is always aware of its responsibility both to our own people and to the international workers class. Whatever we do for the construction of socialist society in the GDR we also always do for further strengthening the socialist community and the revolutionary world movement."⁵

The dialectical interaction between the international and the national factor, and between the universal inevitabilities and specific conditions in the development of socialism, find their special and most concentrated expression in the process of the all-round rapprochement among the socialist states, through which the socialist internationalization of production and of all public life proceeds. The all-round rapprochement among the socialist states is an inevitability of socialism that conforms to its international character as well as to the objective requirements for socialist and communist construction.

The inevitability in the all-round rapprochement among the socialist states and nations is historic in character. While the rapprochement among the socialist states and nations shows itself as a trend as soon as a socialist world system came into existence, it develops into an inevitability when several socialist countries proceeded toward shaping or perfecting the developed socialist society.

The rapprochement among the socialist states goes through a lengthy historic process and through certain phases in which the objective and subjective conditions required for it are created and perfected and "the forms of this alliance in accordance with the given developmental stage of the communist movement"⁶ are created.

The inevitability in the all-round rapprochement among the socialist states and nations entails the increasing scope of the general and identical tasks for constructing the new social order in the various socialist countries, the increasing deepening of their collaboration in all public domains, and their development as organic components of the community of socialist countries.

The basic interrelated processes for all-round rapprochement are found in the following:

First, there is an increase in the formation of identical political, economic and social criteria and developmental features based on the conscious implementation of the universal inevitabilities of social construction and the experiences gathered throughout that process by all the countries. That is reflected by the fraternal parties' largely identical requirements, the essentially identical development of social and class structure, the results in cultural and ideological development, the main directions toward perfecting the political system of society, and the formation of the socialist way of life.

Second, based on growing common interests, the socialist states' cooperation is deepening in all fields. That is reflected by the consolidation of alliance relations and of coordinated foreign and security policy steps, the development of socialist economic integration and the ever more manifold ideological and cultural contacts.

The rapprochement among the socialist states and nations is no process that comes all by itself but must be deliberately guided and shaped by the Marxist-Leninist parties. The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized in this connection that much depends on the policy of the ruling parties, "on their ability to protect our unity, fight against encapsulation and national isolation, understand their common international tasks and work hand in hand on solving these tasks."⁷ With all this, the parties still must take account of the differences in the starting positions and the specific conditions in the various countries, including historical and national particulars. From this there result specific interests of any given socialist states and nations. Implementing and combining them with the common interests of the socialist countries makes a high demand on the fraternal parties' policy.

The fundamental principle for developing the relations among the socialist states is found in socialist internationalism. That is based on what is common to the socioeconomic and political order and on the fundamental interests and goals of the peoples in the socialist states. Socialist internationalism is a specific form of proletarian internationalism arising from the fundamental political, economic and social changes in consequence of the formation and development of the socialist world system, and being operative among sovereign socialist states as the basic principle for their state, economic and cultural-ideological relations.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism exist in organic unity and work as impulses in the shaping of the developed socialist society. To make use of them is one of the basic conditions for further progress in the process of the all-round rapprochement among the socialist states and nations.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism have one and the same source: the class interests and class goals of the proletariat. They are

an expression of the dialectics between the international and national factor. Making deliberate use of it "requires neither rigidly postulating a primacy of the international over the national factor, nor one of the national over the international factor. Primacy belongs only to the class interest of the workers class, which always includes national as well as international aspects."⁹ They reflect the two sides of the historic mission of the workers class, the general and common interests, goals and fighting conditions of the international workers class with regard to the inevitable victory of socialism on a global scale on the one hand, and the obligation the workers class has as the most progressive class in every nation always to represent, in the struggle for implementing its historic mission, the overall interest of the working people in any country and thereby to meet its role and responsibility as the leadership force.

Socialist Economic Integration--Condition for High Economic Growth

The shaping of developed socialist society is a period in which socialism develops on its own socioeconomic basis and in accordance with its appropriate general inevitabilities. At the same time it is characteristic of this period that the international character of socialism produces a new quality of all-round cooperation among the countries in the socialist community. "The socialist community," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in his speech at the Seventh PZPR Congress, "is a voluntary alliance of equal, sovereign and independent states which, in being socialist states, can derive their strength and well-being only from the free labor of their peoples, and which know neither of exploitation in their own country nor of an exploitation of the work or the wealth of other countries and peoples. The socialist community is an alliance entirely novel in type. Not only is it based on what the state interests of a group of countries have in common, but it constitutes a fraternal family of peoples led by Marxist-Leninist parties that are firmly united with each other through a common world-outlook, common high goals and relations of comradely solidarity and mutual assistance."⁹ All basic tasks, the common foreign policy efforts by the socialist countries for further changing the power balance for the benefit of socialism, peace, arms limitation and disarmament, as well as their striving for greater efficiency of social production and for raising the standard of living of the peoples in the CEMA countries, significantly depend on and are affected by the further development and deepening of the all-round cooperation among the countries in the socialist community.

As all other fraternal parties so also the SED proceeds from the recognition that the connection between economic growth and increased prosperity, between output and needs, and between the goals and means of socialist production is becoming increasingly closer. This orientation finds its crystallization in the essentially identical main tasks formulated at the party congresses of the fraternal parties in the CEMA member countries. Against that goal also are gaged the criteria for developing the economy of developed socialism. With regard to the goal of socialist production, essentially the following criteria are the ones that are mentioned in the economic science literature of the GDR, the USSR and other fraternal countries: Creating a

material-technical basis relying on the latest science and technology data that would conform to the requirements of developed socialism; the all-round development of man as the main productive force of society; constant improvement of the prosperity of the people and all-round development of socialist personalities; the systematic socialization of production and labor; the prevalence of the intensive type of expanded reproduction, a dynamic and stable level of labor productivity, efficiency and quality of social labor and a high scientific level of economic management; an ever improving enforcement of the socialist performance principle; and the development and perfection of the socialist production relations and the further development of socialist property in its two main forms and their gradual assimilation.

The most important economic policy feature in this period is the consistent and tenacious struggle for further improving the efficiency of social production, mainly through significantly deepening intensification. In this, increasingly better use is made of scientific-technical progress as the main factor in intensification and an important source of economic growth.

The common goals and the tasks resulting from them objectively determine socialist economic integration as an important condition for the shaping of the developed socialist society. In CEMA member countries still pre-occupied with the tasks of the transition period and with strengthening the foundations of socialism, a participation in socialist economic integration furthers socialist construction and the continued development of the socialist mode of production.

Through the shaping of the developed socialist society a historic process of important material and intellectual changes is taking place in the course of which no country remains in the position to solve all social problems with greatest efficiency--while detached from the community and without support and active interaction with the other countries in the socialist community. It means the essential matters in economic and social policy are in the period of the shaping of developed socialism increasingly strongly tied up with the further deepening of socialist economic integration, it being an inevitable process and criterion of developed socialism. This is marked by the mutual complementation process and the interlinking that has begun among the economies of the CEMA countries. Over the long run, it will give rise to a unified economic organism, to the emergence of a "unified whole," of which Lenin spoke in connection with the increasing socialization of production and labor.

Drawing general conclusions of the GDR's experiences thus far in its economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the CEMA member countries, Erich Honecker made this point: "As up to now so also in the future the GDR is going to be an active partner to the fraternal countries' cooperation. In this we see a crucial trump card for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our own country and for our economic contest with imperialism."¹⁰

In existence for over 30 years, CEMA has developed into an international community of socialist countries that embodies a new type of international economic relations. The countries' cooperation in the spirit of socialist internationalism, in conformity with the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage, comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, has had a lot to do with the fact that CEMA may be called the most dynamic economic region in the world, showing the highest and most stable growth rates for the most important parameters in economic and social development. The CEMA member countries' national income, for instance, came to 7.6 times as much in 1978 as what it had been in 1950, industrial production within the same period rose twelvefold, and average annual growth rates of 9.2 percent were achieved, compared to 6.3 percent on the world scale.

Annual Average Rate of Growth in Industrial Output in the Socialist and Other Countries in the World in the Period 1961-1978

	1961 - 1965	1966 - 1970	1971 - 1978
Socialist Countries	7.2	7.6	7.6
Capitalist Industrial Countries	6.1	5.4	3.4
Developing Countries	7.1	6.8	6.7

(Computed on the basis of "The USSR in Figures for 1978," Moscow, 1979, p 47)

The impressive advantages of the socialist social order and the increasing effectiveness of the equal and comradely cooperation among the CEMA member countries are demonstrated by the CEMA member countries' stable and dynamic economic growth and the constant improvement in the material and intellectual-cultural standard of living of their peoples, while the capitalist world economic system is subjected to crises and sharpening contradictions. Here is the evidence that the parties and governments in the fraternal socialist countries succeed more and more in making still more effective use in their economic and social policy of the internal and external economic growth factors, whereby they also deal with a partial aspect of the overriding dialectics between the national and international factor in concrete terms.

To use still more effectively the qualitative and quantitative, internal and external factors of economic growth, we find that there is an objective necessity, for creating the economy of developed socialism, of the systematic socialization of production and labor within the economies and in the process of socialist economic integration.

The chief forms systematically used in the integration process in socializing scientific-technical cooperation, cooperation in the investment field, international socialist specialization and cooperation in R&D and in production, the joint realization of major economic emphasis tasks and so forth, at the same time lead to further development in socialization within the framework of the CEMA countries' economies. An important start for that is the already high degree of international socialist specialization and production cooperation and their future requirements and possibilities.

Considering the growing demands in consequence of our creating the economy of developed socialism, and in full conformity with the "complex program for the further deepening and perfecting of cooperation and the development of the socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries," the Ninth SED Congress assigned the following tasks as central for deepening socialist economic integration for the 1976-1980 five-year period: The comprehensive use of scientific-technical progress for rationalization and for improving efficiency on the basis of a significant increase in R&D cooperation; insuring stable and long-term raw material and fuel supplies as a basic matter for continued economic growth; and further systematic production concentration on the basis of efficient international socialist specialization and cooperation.

Through the gradual solution of these tasks, socialist economic integration exercises an increasing effect on intensification, the main course for the GDR's economic development. One of the most important tasks here is scientific-technical cooperation, becoming more and more the point of departure for efficient production specialization and cooperation. The forms used for it are varied. They range from the coordination of the science and technology state plans via the activities of more than 40 coordination centers and direct research cooperation all the way to joint permanent or temporary research collectives and intensification brigades. This cooperation, with close research cooperation with the Soviet Union at its center, is of inestimable importance to the GDR because it makes possible access to important achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, attested to, among other things, by the space program. For the 1976-1980 period, approximately 500 scientific-technical projects to be carried out with the Soviet Union alone have been agreed upon. Outstanding examples of this research cooperation are the development of the multi-spectral camera, the highly productive procedure for producing high-pressure polyethylene and of the 30-ton plasma melting furnace. At the same time this makes possible to concentrate, and specialize, the GDR's efficient yet quantitatively limited research potential in important trends of science and technology that are significant for increasing our economic performance.

One of the most important conditions for stable and dynamic economic growth is ensuring our raw material base, which is becoming more and more expensive. For years the CEMA countries have successfully, and for mutual advantage, coordinated their efforts to meet the increasing requirements of their economies for raw materials, fuels and electrical energy. That is attested to by the natural gas and petroleum pipelines, the building of the Soyuz natural gas pipeline, the completion of the 750-kilovolt pipeline from Vinnitsa, Ukrainian SSR, to Albertirsa, Hungary, by which CEMA's energy network was further extended, the construction of such objects as the Ust Ilimsk cellulose combine, the Kijembaï asbestos combine, the joint development of nickel production in Cuba and many others.

Contributing to the establishment of such objects makes high demands on our industry in terms of developing, producing and supplying at proper contractual terms efficient installations and equipment. Through supplying

oil refineries and other petroleum processing equipment, petroleum imports are assured from the USSR as well rolling steel, in exchange for which metallurgical equipment and machines are supplied.

For the future too, the GDR regards as the most decisive and advantageous way for ensuring its growing raw material imports the further development of socialist economic integration. For the 1981-1985 period, agreements have been made to import from the Soviet Union, among other things, 95 million tons of petroleum, 32.5 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 21 million tons of pit coal, 8.5 million tons of iron ore, 650,000 tons of aluminum, 211,500 tons of copper, 457,000 tons of cellulose and 440,000 tons of cotton.¹¹

Since adopting the complex program, the CEMA countries have made great progress in further deepening international production specialization and cooperation. This development had a lot to do with the fact that the foreign trade turnover among the CEMA countries between 1971 and 1978 rose from 36.5 to more than 100 billion rubles. Especially in the processing industry, above all in machinery and equipment, the number of specialization and cooperation agreements has gone up fast. The proportion of specialized and cooperate products in the GDR's exports of machinery and equipment to the CEMA countries comes to more than 40 percent. An expression of the increasing complementing and interlinking between the GDR economy and the economies of the other CEMA countries is the development of such stable export lines that call for large production series as ships, rolling mill equipment, refrigeration cars and trailers, strip mining installations, chemical plants, and agricultural machines and machine tools.

In the 1976-1980 period the import of machines and equipment from the USSR went up by 80 percent. These imports, which included equipment for hydro and nuclear power plants, excavators, tractors and diesel locomotives from the Soviet Union, help as much develop our material-technical base as do the streetcars, machine tools and electronic components from the CSSR, construction machinery from Poland, buses from Hungary, wheelbarrows and lifting appliances from Bulgaria, and power transformers from Romania.

As the other CEMA countries so the GDR also is making great efforts to raise, by means of further deepening international socialist specialization and cooperation, above all the manufacture of such products for which there is a great economic demand and which are of a high scientific-technical quality. By producing highly effective end products and complete installations, the preconditions are created for cutting back in our imports and boosting our exports. Of far-reaching importance in this connection is the long-term specialization and cooperation program for the economies of the USSR and the GDR for the period from 1980 to 1990, which was concluded between L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker, and which sets down the basic developmental trends in the economic relations between the two countries.

On this basis, the 25th session of the GDR-USSR governmental parity commission set down specialization and cooperation measures for chemistry and petrochemistry, electricity and electrical engineering, equipment construction and machine tools, foundry machines, textile and polygraphic machines, machines for the foodstuffs industry, glass machines, agricultural machines and light industry. Thereby measures have been agreed upon that are aimed at making more use of specialization and cooperation, at accelerating scientific-technical progress and at improving our efficiency through joint investment in and the rationalization and reconstruction of existing production capacities. In implementation of these measures as agreed upon and of the coordination between the GDR's and the USSR's state five-year plans for 1981-1985, the reciprocal trade volume between the two countries is going to come to M 240 billion.

The firm course the fraternal parties have been taking toward deepening their socialist economic integration is expressed by the ratification provided at the 32nd and 33rd CEMA conferences for the long-range cooperation programs in raw materials and fuels, agriculture, machine construction, the consumer goods industry and transportation. It introduced an important step toward strengthening the long-term and systematic character of their cooperation. On the basis of mutual advantage, the economies of the CEMA countries will become more interlinked through the implementation of these integration measures. That is an indispensable basis and source of the intensification of social production and thus serves the further implementation of the main task. At the 11th Central Committee plenum Erich Honecker made the point that by adopting these target programs we have concluded the collective elaboration of the CEMA countries' joint cooperation strategy in the most important economic fields for the period up to 1990.

Combining Joint and Specific Economic Interests in the Integration Process

Through the successes achieved in the outcome of their economic and scientific-technical cooperation, the CEMA member countries have created favorable conditions for realizing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. At the same time the fraternal parties have made it very clear that the shaping of developed socialism, the course of the revolutionary world process and the conditions of the class conflict with imperialism are making high and increasing demands on increasing the economic efficiency of the CEMA countries, and that it is necessary in view of that to bring the influence of socialist economic integration still much more to bear on this growth in efficiency, that is, on productivity and efficiency development, scientific-technical progress and the qualitative aspect. In other words: socialist economic integration is one of the essential conditions for smooth and dynamic economic growth and for ever more effectively realizing the potentials of socialism. If we want to tap these productive and future-bearing growth conditions effectively, we must apply high efficiency criteria to each and every integration measure because combining capacities as such will not automatically result in multiple efficacy. And that is the reason why Erich Honecker has asked that the farther socialist economic

integration advances and affects our economic development, the more attention should be paid to the economic matters connected with it, particularly to the matter of efficiency.¹²

That connects with a very complicated and recurrent problem in the process of socialist economic integration: the relationship between the CEMA countries' common and specific economic interests and their effective combination through the management, planning and economic stimulation of the integration processes.

In making decisions on whether or not to participate in particular integration measures, the socialist states, in being responsible for the efficiency and performance improvements of their economies, let themselves be guided by the economic interests of their states.

The socialist countries' economic state interests entail both common as well as specific economic interests. The common economic interests result from identical economic conditions and from the effect of the economic laws of socialism which, through economic interests, determine the conduct of classes as well as of individuals. They are based on the needs the countries have as they arise for their jointly solving fundamental tasks in the shaping of developed socialism. Common economic interests can form through the identical interests of the states in solving economic tasks as well as through specific interests of the states in the joint solution of tasks.

What with all the fundamental identity of interests among the socialist states with regard to implementing the goal of socialist production, the various countries still have their specific economic interests. They result mainly from the concrete-historic conditions which reflect the given stage of development of the objective conditions under which the economic laws of socialism are effective and are being utilized. The objective foundations for the specific economic interests thus are the country's needs resulting from the internal and external conditions and objective circumstances for the development of its economy and for achieving the goal of socialist production.

Common and specific economic interests form a dialectical unity, a partial area of the comprehensive relationship between the international and national factor.

Effectively intertwining these common and specific economic interests is a fundamental condition for making systematic use of the economic laws of socialism in the economic relations among the CEMA member states. This is not an automatic process but one that calls for deliberate attention to the interaction between the international and the national factor, between proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, in each and every integration measure. Effectively combining these common and specific economic interests presupposes the recognition of the performance principle, which one conforms to, above all, by consistently applying the principles of equivalency in trading and of mutual advantage. Even when these principles are applied to a given concrete economic measure, temporary problems,

disproportions or differences of opinion may arise. That is attributable to the fact that there do exist differences in the points of departure, in historic and cultural developments and so forth, and that in all the variety and complexity of the integration processes conflicts arise of course about the most effective way of organizing those processes. Problems like that, which also might result from overemphasizing specific interests or from the fact that common interests might result from the synthesis of specific interests, are collectively resolved while we are proceeding in the spirit of the basic principles for our cooperation. The following point was made at the 33rd CEMA conference: "Through the activity of CEMA, these international economic relations of a new type, based on the principles of socialist internationalism, respect for state sovereignty, independence and national interests, nonintervention in the internal affairs of the countries, full equality, mutual advantage and mutual comradely assistance, have for the first time in history been applied in practice."¹³ About the dialectics of interests Erich Honecker said "that in the economic integration of the socialist countries as a new and complicated process the important thing is to approach the questions of economic development with all due caution. The most rational solutions in any given case must benefit the interests of one's own country as well as those of the other partners. Focusing on the latest scientific and technological data and on the most lucrative and progressive production methods is indispensable."¹⁴

Socialist economic integration, a characteristic of the shaping of the developed socialist society, is a process evolving on the basis of objective inevitabilities. In conformity with the requirements of the economic laws of socialism, it is, as much as the shaping of the economy of developed socialism, a process that has to be directed and handled systematically by the governments and parties in the fraternal socialist countries, with its dimensions and developmental tempo primarily being determined by the stage of maturation of the material conditions in the member countries, and with special importance attached to the degree of maturity reached by the socialist mode of production. As established by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and as confirmed by our practical experiences, the internationalization of economic life in socialism is a lengthy historic process and is directly related to the development of the socialist mode of production. Socialist economic integration and the assimilation, mutual complementation and gradual interlinking among the economies of the socialist countries proceed step by step, through various phases. Neither pushing it ahead artificially nor any intended stopping of this process could have positive effects on having the advantages and impulses of the developed socialist society take shape.

The proper combination between the international and national factor and of what is class-relevant in the policy of the fraternal parties controls the degree of effectiveness and speed by which socialist economic integration can help improve the productivity of social labor and the growth of economic performance in the CEMA countries and can help further shape the advantages of real socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 16, Berlin, 1962, p 14.
2. K. Hager, "The Relevance of Marx' Doctrine Today," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 29/30 April 1978.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 21, Berlin, 1968, p 26.
4. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 40.
5. "Bericht des ZK der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 139.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 31, Berlin, 1959, p 134.
7. "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1976, p 9.
8. H. Axen, "The Great October and Proletarian Internationalism," EINHEIT, Berlin, 1977, Nos 10/11, p 1152.
9. L. I. Brezhnev, "Auf dem Wege Lenins" (On Lenin's Road), Vol 5, Berlin, 1977, p 459.
10. E. Honecker, "Rede auf der Festveranstaltung zum 30. Jahrestag der DDR" (Speech at the 30th GDR Anniversary Celebration), Berlin, 1979, p 35.
11. Cf. "From the Politburo Report to the 11th SED Central Committee Session," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 14 December 1979.
12. Cf. E. Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Berlin, 1978, p 31.
13. "Declaration on the 30th CEMA Anniversary," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 30 June and 1 July 1979.
14. E. Honecker, "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 1, Berlin, 1975, p 12.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY: SED MANIPULATION OF LUTHER ANNIVERSARY

Honecker's Participation

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 25 Mar 80 p 4

[Reuter article datelined Berlin 24 March: "Honecker Assumes Chairmanship of Martin Luther Committee: State and Church Intend To Commemorate the Reformer's Birthday in Great Style--Luther Praised as Trailblazer for Karl Marx"]

[Text] GDR government and party chief Erich Honecker, according to informed circles in East Berlin, intends to take on the chairmanship of a governmental Luther Committee that is to prepare the commemoration of the 500th birthday of the reformer on 10 November 1983. As those circles further said on Monday, the GDR intends to celebrate Martin Luther's birthday in great style. More than 100 personalities of public life are said to belong to the committee. The Protestant Church is to send four delegates to it under guest statute, among them the bishops of Saxony and Thuringia, Werner Krusche and Werner Leich. At the committee's constitutive session in June, Honecker and Leich both plan to make speeches taking three-quarters of an hour.

Within the Protestant Church, according to our information, there has been much controversy about the participation in the committee. But the advocates of a pragmatic posture vis-a-vis the government had prevailed.

According to our information, the new state secretary for church affairs, Klaus Gysi, has in particular been in favor of the participation of the church. The SED leadership has in recent months clearly signaled its interest in improving relations with the church. Gysi has come out in favor of "confident relations" and "frank dealings." Last week for the first time he received the leaders of the Protestant churches in the FRG and the GDR, Bishop Eduard Lohse of Hannover and Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr of East Berlin, for a joint discussion.

The 450th anniversary of the Reformation in October 1967 had still been commemorated separately by state and church because of political disagreements. Luther was last honored a year ago in the FDJ journal FORUM as a German revolutionary and trailblazer for Karl Marx. His legacy had been absorbed in the GDR as part of the "best traditions of progressive thought and action."

A spokesman of the GDR Federation of Evangelical Churches has confirmed that Honecker would assume the chairmanship of the committee. In addition to bishops Krusche and Leich, the body is to include a representative of the East Berlin church chancellery and the GDR representative to the Lutheran World Federation. The spokesman did say, however, that in spite of taking part in the committee, the church will still hold its own Luther commemoration.

Metamorphosis of Luther

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 29 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum (Berlin): "Is the Former Prince's Lackey Now Become a Comrade? In the GDR the Party Is Now Working on a New Luther Image--Retouching Is Nothing New." A translation of a related article by the same author is published under the heading, "West German Commentary: GDR Church, State Relations in Wittenberg," in JPRS 72831, 16 Feb 79, No 1647 of this series, pp 38-42]

[Text] GDR history teachers have known all about it for some time. A year or more ago they were told by the school's party organization they should be "discreet" when talking about Martin Luther in their classes; the party was about to come out with a new image of Luther in history.

Now, evidently, time is ripe. Before Easter still a governmental "GDR Luther Committee" is to be christened. About 100 personalities in the GDR are to be part of it, from honorary president Erich Honecker (SED General Secretary) down to the heads of the state Luther institutions and professors in the theological departments of GDR universities. The committee job is to prepare, under government guidance, the Luther anniversary in 1983--Luther's 500th birthday. Occasioned by the founding of the committee, the Luther image in the GDR is sure to be retouched in a big way.

Retouching the Luther image in the GDR is nothing new. Even before, on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of Luther's posting his theses in Wittenberg, in 1967, the Marxist-Leninist party's attitude toward the reformer changed. Up to then, Luther had been maligned as a "prince's lackey." The true hero of the reformation to the GDR was Thomas Muentzer, who had organized the Peasants' War in and around Muehlhausen.

It was only 2 years ago that Luther was acquitted of the reproach of having been a "prince's lackey" in the GDR. "A 'prince's lackey' Martin Luther did not become," so begins a section by Max Steinmetz in the "Lehrbuch der Deutschen Geschichte (Beitraege)" [German History Textbook (Contributions)], and then continues: "Though he maintained the principle that government ruled by divine decree, he kept hauling the princes 'over the coals.' Even so, all his admonitions and warnings proceeded within the framework of Christian penitential sermons and did not shake the foundations of princely power."

These and other insights by Marxist historians in the GDR have not yet made the rounds in the Ministry for Public Education in the other Germany, though. That ministry is under Margot Honecker, and she too is on the GDR Luther Committee.

In the sixth grade lesson plan now in use things sound very different from what Steinmetz says: "It is important to explain Luther's reformation as a national movement against the papal church in Germany Great tribute is to be paid to Luther and Muentzer. . . . The Bible translation was an important contribution to the formation of the German national language and the development of German national consciousness. . . . Whereas Luther joined the camp of the princes, Thomas Muentzer subsequently represented the radical wing of the antifeudal camp in Germany. . . . The peasants, as the most exploited and suppressed class, most consistently demanded the Reformation be turned into a genuine antifeudal people's reformation Luther's betrayal of the revolutionary peasants (The pupils have to be made) aware of the connection between the defeat of the German peasants and Luther's reformation becoming the princes' reformation."

In the "teaching aids" for sixth grade published last year, one can find the following question a teacher must ask his pupils: "Why did Luther lose many followers and friends? Why could he no longer head the people's movement?" The answer furnished for it is: "He opposed the people's reformation, he supported the princes." A few pages later, it says: "Luther's attitude must be understood as a betrayal of the peasants' revolutionary struggle."

It is easy to see that, with that historic view, the picture drawn of Thomas Muentzer at GDR schools is far more positive than that of Luther: "Instruction must be structured in such a way that the pupils will side with the just struggle of the peasants and become enthusiastic about Muentzer. Continuing the work for understanding the role of personality in history." (Teaching aids)

The history textbook has a lesson assignment for the 12-year-olds on page 199 that turns Thomas Muentzer into a sort of avatar of the GDR: "Compare Thomas Muentzer's view of the power that must be given to the people with article 2 of our republic's Constitution, 'All power in the GDR is exercised by the working people in town and country!'--"It must be brought out," this the teaching aids demand as the instructional objective for that lesson, "that we have fulfilled Muentzer's legacy in the GDR." A pupil who writes that down in his answer may expect an "A."

GDR historian Steinmetz no longer says anything about Luther's having "betrayed" the peasants. His formulation is much more cautious: "During the months of the Peasants' War, Luther increasingly distanced himself from the fighting people's masses. The population, especially on the territory where the struggle took place, showed itself disappointed in the reformer's attitude. And the 'Wittenberg Nightingale' lost a great deal of respect there. When after 1525 the Lutheran reformation lost much of its bourgeois

character and was placed at the service of the territorial princes, Luther did nothing to stop that development."

And further: "The struggle 'against the papacy of Rome, sponsored by the devil' increasingly served the needs of the territorial overlords, whose interests also conformed with Luther's zeal against baptizers and sacramentarians, against Zwinglians and 'Calvinists,' and mainly against draining any sociopolitical consequences out of the reformation."

With theses like these, Steinmetz is not too far removed from what Western historians think about the Reformation. In West German history books one can also read that when the peasants' rebellion was defeated in 1525, "the Reformation had failed, from below, as a people's movement" and that Luther had not been innocent of the development that the victorious princes built up their power by much more strongly relying on a subservient base of subjects, using in this the church reform for their own ends.

The Luther picture in the GDR thus far all too much gaged the reformer against his political concepts, forgetting his ecclesiastic and theological writings. The new Luther image will not make much of a difference in this, to be sure, but one can already make out that soon in the GDR Luther is going to be claimed as a great German humanist and social reformer (with reference, among other things, to his protest against usury).

Upon the SED's request, representatives of the Evangelical Church Federation will also take part in the governmental Luther Committee. But, after the experiences of 1967, they will not be members but only "attendants" (in 1967, Bishop Jaenicke had quit the Luther Committee in protest against the governmental view on Luther, while the Thuringian Bishop Mitzenhain stayed with it).

The GDR's Evangelical Church Federation set up its own committee some time ago, where all eight member churches have been sending their delegates. Werner Leich, Bishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Thuringia, is chairing it, and he also is on the governmental committee. Synodal conferences are being prepared there and clerical assemblies, and also a number of publications. Luther's selected works and his essays are to be published there in six and five volumes, respectively, by Evangelische Verlagsanstalt. A 2-volume Festschrift will deal with the last years in the life of the reformer (working title: "Luther 1530 to 1546") and gaps are to be closed in the research on Luther.

Even way back in 1967, the GDR thought of itself as the "first German workers and peasants state" which, "because of its humanistic character was solely entitled to commemorate the anniversary of a progressive tradition in German history of which we are proud." That will not be much different in 1983. The only question is to what extent the "land of Marx and Engels" has now been "Lutherized" and whether the former "prince's lackey" has now been turned into a "Comrade Luther," which may quite amaze the good SED comrades in the rear ranks thinking they heard something rather different before.

FORMER GDR BISHOP ASSESSES CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 34 No 13, 24 Mar 80 pp 86, 88, 90-92

[Interview with former GDR Bishop Hans-Joachim Fraenkel by DER SPIEGEL editors Andreas Lorenz and Ulrich Schwarz at the bishop's home in Marburg, FRG: "Christians and Marxists Must Learn To Adjust: Former GDR Bishop Hans-Joachim Fraenkel on the Relationship Between Church and SED"]

[Text] Hans-Joachim Fraenkel was bishop of the GDR regional Protestant Church of Goerlitz from 1964 to 30 September 1979, and he was thus one of the highest representatives of Protestant Christians in East Germany. A member of the Confessing Church during the Third Reich, Fraenkel assisted after the end of the war in the rebuilding of the Goerlitz Church diocese, initially as a member of the High Consistory. Fraenkel, who demanded more tolerance toward the citizens of the GDR, was always a troublesome opponent for the GDR government, and because of his severe attacks against the SED he had the reputation in East Berlin for a long time of being "a puppet of Bonn policy." When in the 1970's he spoke up for a policy of detente, he was then criticized by GDR Christians, who accused him of having changed his attitude towards the socialist authorities. Fraenkel, who expressed felicitations to SED General Secretary Erich Honecker on his 70th birthday in August of last year, has lived in Marburg since November 1979.

[Question] Bishop Fraenkel, as the prelate of Goerlitz you have exhorted citizens who were fed up with East Germany to stick it out in the GDR. But no sooner had you retired when you yourself emigrated to the FRG. How does that tally?

[Answer] We have never had even the slightest objections on the part of the Church Directorate when retired ministers or other parishioners

at the retirement age emigrated from the GDR for reasons of reuniting with their families. We have always sharply separated such a thing from all active service. I myself decided to emigrate above all out of regard for my successor. In a church as small as that of the Goerlitz Church diocese, it would not have been very easy for him to develop in his own way if I had remained there after decades of activity in leading this Church.

[Question] Nevertheless: Is not the departure of a retired bishop who has always admonished his flock to remain in the GDR bound to look like desertion to the faithful?

[Answer] I believe as much as ever that the exhortation to remain in the GDR has its validity. Only there is a difference whether someone is a pensioner and is at the end of his life's work, or whether in the midst of his work he leaves the GDR for another place. I have never dissuaded pensioners who took advantage of the opportunity to go to live with their relations, whether they were children or other relatives.

Of course, I cannot prevent anyone from viewing my departure as a desertion. But I have a good conscience in this matter. Other than in Goerlitz, I do not have any close relatives in the GDR, and therefore as an unattached person I moved to Marburg, where my brother lives. In doing this I have acted in complete harmony with the leading superiors in Goerlitz.

[Question] Even in harmony with your confreres in the episcopal office?

[Answer] I know from the chairman of the bishops' conference, Schoenherr, that it approves of my step.

[Question] A good 2 years ago, on 6 March 1978, the heads of State and Church met together for the first time since the founding of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR. What induced SED General Secretary Erich Honecker to sit down at a table with the chairman of the GDR Church League, the Berlin Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr?

[Answer] I think that this talk was the result of a learning process on both sides. On the side of the Church--notwithstanding the opposition in the ideological sphere--the recognition has grown nevertheless that the Church has to view the socialist society as that realm given to it by God for the preservation of its faith.

[Question] But in doing this the Church gets involved in a regime whose ideology really has no place for it.

[Answer] You would be right if it logically followed from the unbridgeable antagonism between the gospel and Marxism that a state which has a Marxist alignment is obliged to administratively perform

euthanasia on a doomed religion which is nevertheless tenaciously clinging to life.

[Question] But after all, this is precisely what the SED has been trying to do for many years. Christians have been discriminated against in school and on the job and have been treated as second-class citizens.

[Answer] It cannot be denied that there have been administrative steps as well. But also a part of the mutual learning process is the realization on the Marxist side that such measures are not appropriate to the humanistic aims of socialism. Also there has been a diminution of certain prejudices and stereotyped ideas, without the basic judgment about religion having changed.

Moreover, and I beg of you not to overlook this, the conviction has prevailed in the State and Party that the Church is not permitting itself to be misused in a subversive way.

[Question] The summit meeting of Honecker/Schoenherr surely signifies even more--namely, an open upgrading of the Church in the GDR.

[Answer] Yes, the quite sober realization that there will be a Church there for decades to come yet, and that it is a sensible step precisely under conditions of a detente policy to find a modus vivendi between State and Church, to enter into relations which are conformable to the Constitution and which have been based on a mutual respect for the identity of the other side.

[Question] These relations were not of this nature hitherto?

[Answer] In the past there have been differences of opinion about what relations conformable to the Constitution must be like, inasmuch as even certain statements in the Constitution have been differently interpreted from time to time. Here also a rapprochement process has taken place.

[Question] Back in 1968 the Church had trouble in getting religious freedom accepted in the new GDR Constitution.

[Answer] I do not know whether one can say that we had trouble. The fact is that at that time we bishops addressed ourselves to the government in a letter and earnestly requested that freedom of belief and of conscience be incorporated in the Constitution--something which after all is more than religious freedom.

[Question] Has then the SED changed its aims since that time?

[Answer] Certainly not ideologically. But it has adjusted itself realistically to coexistence with the Church.

[Question] Your optimism is hardly shared by many of the faithful. Following the meeting between Bishop Schoenherr and Erich Honecker, there was criticism above all from the rank and file in the congregations. Its tenor: The church superiors have come to terms with the SED, but we in the congregations are under duress as much as ever. Has the situation of Christians in the GDR really improved in the last 2 years?

[Answer] Yes, of course it has. There is a whole series of positive features. Among these is also the fact that the national leadership is taking pains to not allow any discriminations against Christians.

[Question] Can you picture to yourself the children of a Protestant bishop being given a professorship at the Humboldt University someday, or their becoming something important in the governmental apparatus of the GDR?

[Answer] I would not like to think this impossible in principle. Certainly such opportunities are definitely a part of the future desired by me.

[Question] But not a part of the present?

[Answer] I have spoken of a process. After years of diverse indurations in the attitude of Christians and Marxists, it is understandable if the general line stressed by Honecker in his talk with Bishop Schoenherr cannot prevail without problems. Christians and Marxists must learn to adjust somewhat.

By the way, I consider it self-evident that a Christian in the socialist State must be willing to make sacrifices for his faith.

[Question] Bishop Fraenkel, even after the Honecker/Schoenherr talk, the GDR Church has criticized repeatedly and publicly the policy of the SED, such as the introduction of military-science instruction as a compulsory subject in all GDR schools. By such criticism, does not the Church endanger the truce which has just recently been made?

[Answer] No. The Church has had the opportunity to express its serious misgivings about military instruction...

[Question] ...Without success.

[Answer] We have been listened to attentively. Even though, contrary to our request, the State has left things unchanged in connection with this instruction, in any case we have won the promise that parents who do not send their children to such classes for reasons of conscience are not to suffer any injuries for this. But the way in which the State has reacted to the criticism of the Church reflects something of its earnest intention to preserve the modus vivendi with the Church in the GDR.

[Question] And this promise has been kept?

[Answer] I cannot have a clear view of all cases of course. But no case has become known to me in which this promise has not been kept. By the way, to my knowledge it is a question of only a few parents who are not sending their children to the military classes.

[Question] The Church's scolding about the signature campaign for the disarmament initiative of Leonid Brezhnev has hurt the SED even more deeply than its criticism of the military-science classes. Why have the bishops objected at all to this campaign, which was staged with such a great propaganda effort?

[Answer] Precisely because they support the initiative of Brezhnev. The bishops were seriously worried that this drive would not be helpful to Brezhnev's objective. Because the impression could easily arise that Brezhnev's venture was intended only for tactical purposes.

[Question] And how has the SED reacted?

[Answer] The State has taken bitter offense at the behavior of the Church, and probably it has not completely understood it either. But it has not drawn the conclusion from this that with this critical attitude, the Church has abandoned the basis established in the talk of 6 March 1978.

[Question] Did not the Church also want to test its new elbowroom?

[Answer] No! That is a typically political question. The Church cannot test its lattitudes for maneuvering like politicians can. It must speak when it has been called upon to do so.

[Question] But on the Afghanistan invasion of the Soviets, has not the GDR Church been silent?

[Answer] There is no direct statement on Afghanistan. But there is a "Declaration of the League of Protestant Churches on the Present World Political Situation" which is intended for a conference of the Ecumenical Council in Budapest. Here it is said unmistakably: "The complementing of political detente by military detente has not succeeded so far. It is impeded when military action takes the place of political action. Where this happens, the ability to arrive at solutions of international and intergovernmental conflicts which are in accord with a policy of detente is considerably impaired."

[Question] Is then this declaration known in the GDR?

[Answer] It has been sent to all the ministers and thus it is known at least within the Church.

[Question] There is one point at which the security requirements of the SED are directly affected by the Church: In Protestant congregations, artists, writers, or singers who are critical of the regime frequently make appearances. Must not that give the impression that the Church is offering itself as a sanctuary for opposition elements?

[Answer] Here the Church is moving on a narrow path. I cannot simply say that an artist must not make an appearance in the domain of the Church merely because he engages in criticism. That must be decided on by the Church in its own freedom. On the other hand, it must avoid any provocation, because that would signify to the SED the question of power.

[Question] Where do you draw the line here?

[Answer] When a congregation offers a forum to an artist who is not allowed to make an appearance elsewhere, then it is helping him to secure his livelihood, and that is a legitimate service to our fellow man. On the other hand, if I stage a mass rally with such an artist, then this can easily be understood as a provocation. There must be service to our fellow man, but there must not be a provocation which has in view a raising of the question of power.

Despite all the misgivings of the State about such artistic appearances, to my knowledge it has not imposed any general ban on the Church in this area.

[Question] If we understand you correctly, your credo goes: Things go well for the Church in the GDR so long as it nowhere calls into question the power of the SED. Is that the reason why the prelates simply put certain fields under a taboo, such as the demand of many GDR citizens for freedom of movement, or the order-to-fire policy at the German-German border?

[Answer] In the first place: The question of freedom of movement is not avoided by the Church. As early as in 1961, the Protestant Church of the Union had publicly exhorted citizens to remain in the GDR. Nothing has changed in this attitude.

You see, there are differing conceptions between East and West about human rights. For the Western understanding of human rights, the classical individual rights to freedoms have priority, but in contrast to this for the socialist understanding the social rights have such a priority. Regardless of this difference, I am of the opinion that one must distinguish between so-called basic rights, which are unrenouncable and which cannot be abolished even with reference to revolutionary social processes, and other rights--even very desirable human rights--which can be restricted if the interests of the community require it.

To be sure, it would be desirable by all means to achieve conditions in which, without injury to the community, the right to freedom of movement could also be granted generally. But this right is not one of the inviolable basic rights, such as are, for example, freedom of belief and conscience or the right to life.

[Question] In plain English: The GDR cannot yet afford to allow freedom of movement to its citizens.

[Answer] I am of the opinion that at present the GDR must take care to not suffer any setbacks which could not help having consequences for its economy and thus for the community.

[Question] Those affected by this policy see the situation differently, as the great number of exit applications shows.

[Answer] Yes, I will not deny that at all. There is a trend with which I am at variance, because I cannot accept a purely individualistic right of free movement without regard to the community.

[Question] And the order to fire?

[Answer] What you call the order to fire cannot be separated from the question of freedom of movement. If in its understanding of human rights a state gives priority to the social rights and thus to the community, it will be obliged to reserve to itself the right to decide when it must limit freedom of movement and to that end it will also make statutory regulations whose observance it compels with force, if necessary.

Only if the Church were to consider unlimited freedom of movement to be called for on the basis of the gospel would it also have to oppose legal limitations of this freedom and measures associated with these limitations.

[Question] But in connection with the firing order, there is surely more at issue: At issue is a law which legitimizes the murdering of defenseless people. Is not the Church silent after all on this subject--a sensitive one for the SED, which is anxious to have a good international reputation--because it is afraid of otherwise raising the question of power?

[Answer] I think that within the context of the legal regulations concerning this problem, as painful and troubling to the conscience as it is, one should nevertheless not speak of murder. If the Church does not protest here, it is not because it is afraid for its existence, but because it cannot accept a purely individualistically understood right to free movement as a God-given right.

But I am sure that the Church will champion steadfastly the cause of improving the relations of the two German states to one another to such

an extent that the distressful situation at the border is successfully resolved. The fear of raising the question of power does not play any role in connection with the commitment of the Church.

[Question] Could the Church raise this question at all? For the SED, does not the Church problem really take care of itself in the long run--for lack of members?

[Answer] No, no. Although I am of the opinion that the Church in the GDR has not yet reached the nadir of its membership figures. At the present time there are about 8 million people who nominally belong to the Church. The hard core numbers considerably less.

[Question] For the SED, is this hard core really still a magnitude with which it must reckon?

[Answer] I do not know whether it is a significant quantity to the SED. I have noticed that corresponding to the falling off of quantity there has been an increase in quality, when for example I reflect on the--certainly slender--stratum of younger minds who, conscious of what they are doing, are sticking by the Church. Or when I reflect on the minority of young people who deliberately come out in the open as Christians.

[Question] Then must the SED continue to fear the Church?

[Answer] Not fear. By all means I could imagine that even the Party sees that there will always be a certain hard core of Christians, and that it sees this very clearly. Because in my opinion these citizens, for whom a yes is a yes and a no is a no, are more likable to the SED than those enigmatic people in relation to whom it does not know what it should go by.

[Question] Bishop Fraenkel, we thank you for this talk.

12114

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONTINUED INTEREST IN SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH WEST AFFIRMED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 12, 1980 signed to press 17 Mar 80 p 5

[Article by Prof Dr Claus Grote, general secretary, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Scientific Cooperation Requires Peace and Security--On the Results of the CSCE Forum in Hamburg"]

[Text] In the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe it was planned to conduct a "scientific forum." This forum was to be conducted "in the format of a meeting of leading personalities in science selected from the participating countries who were to discuss related problems of common interest in the field of present and future development of the sciences, and were to promote contacts, connections and exchange of information between scientific institutions and scientists." In accordance with these goals and on the basis of a preparatory meeting of specialists in June/July 1978 in Bonn, the forum was finally conducted in Hamburg (FRG) between 18 February and 3 March of this year.

The approximately 140 papers submitted by scientists of the participating countries on problems in the fields of research in the natural sciences and medicine as well as in the arts and social sciences formed a good basis for factual discussion, especially since the majority of these papers had previously been sent to the delegations of the participating countries. The conditions prepared by the government of the host country in organizing the meeting also contributed to the constructive atmosphere and objective style of discussion.

After the opening of the conference and the introductory statements by the delegation chiefs, the forum continued its program in four work groups that dealt with the following problems:

- research in the field of alternative sources of energy,
- research in the field of food production,

- trends in research on cardiovascular diseases, as well as tumorous and viral illnesses with consideration of the influence of the environment on human health,
- comparative research on social, socioeconomic and cultural phenomena, especially in the environment and the development of city construction.

Struggle for Acceptable Compromises

From the beginning of the conference, the activities and conduct of the scientists from socialist countries and of many of the delegates from neutral countries were aimed at successful progress. They considered the preparation and conclusion of the forum as part of the realization of the Final Act of Helsinki in its total form, especially as a specific contribution by the scientific community of the 35 participating countries to improved cooperation and thereby to continuation and intensification of detente in Europe.

In this sense, the opening statement of the GDR delegation mentioned three conditions necessary for the success of the conference:

1. To recognize the mutual dependence of peace and security on the one hand, and cooperation and exchange on the other;
2. To base scientific cooperation on mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the participating countries, and to avoid its misuse through attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of the participating countries;
3. To counteract the breakdown of international cooperation and instead concentrate on problems that will improve the lives of all members of society, and also on problems of mutual interest that result from the political and territorial coexistence of countries in Europe that have different social orders.

Observing these premises, the scientists of our delegation had prepared a total of seven contributions which were received with approval and whose contents also agreed fully with the joint statements made in the final act by the scientists of the participating countries. A remarkable fact is that even in cases where there were different points of view on technical problems clear formulas could be arrived at through constructive discussions. As an example for this development could be mentioned the clear statement on the role of nuclear energy which appears as follows in the report by the work group on alternative sources of energy: "In most countries the problem of energy supply cannot be solved without the use of nuclear energy for the production of electricity and heat...In order to guarantee the future development in the field of nuclear energy it is necessary to develop breeder reactors..."

In the other work groups, too, discussions resulted in meaningful recommendations on specific themes and forms of cooperation.

The policy of the socialist countries to put constructive discussion on specific subjects in the center of forum activities proved to be correct, and the only useful way which in the end led to a compromise acceptable for all.

The scientific forum could of course not bypass the dangers brought about by the deterioration of the international climate in the recent past. Our delegation emphasized therefore the necessity of strengthening political detente, especially the ever more urgent need of completing it through military detente. Repeated emphasis was placed on the responsibility of scientists to utilize their work results for the benefit of man, and also on the great possibilities which real steps toward disarmament according to the principle of equal security for all would bring to the solution of global scientific problems.

Slandery Damage Achievement

In contrast to these efforts, the representatives of NATO countries tried to follow a line of boycott and confrontation by using the vocabulary of the Cold War. Even though they gave assurances that they were speaking only "as scientists for science," they could not forget the government offices that were agitating behind their backs in Washington, London, Brussels or Rome. It was interesting to note that those who wanted to have the forum held outside the CSCE in order not to run the suspicion of supporting the idea of detente, made the strongest negative political impressions in Hamburg by trying to sabotage the final act. They intended to interfere massively in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, spared no slanders, threatened an interruption of scientific relations if things did not go in the interest of the United States and other NATO countries and arrogantly graded socialist countries for "good" or "bad" behavior.

The socialist countries rejected all slanders and threats and made it clear that attempts of this kind would not only damage future cooperation but also put in question past successes. This determined attitude, in conjunction with the constructive approach to objective problems of scientific cooperation, which in the course of the conference found to an ever increasing degree the full support of the representatives of the neutral countries, helped to keep discussion on the necessary objective level.

The recommendations of the final act of the forum are based on the Final Act of Helsinki. They leave no room for speculations or the encouragement to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

Continued GDR Interest in Exchange

Since Helsinki the GDR has developed on a broad level cooperation and exchange in the field of the sciences. This process will continue in accordance with our interests. Long-range agreements have proved effective in this respect.

Any attempts to circumvent during the process of our cooperation the principles of noninterference and sovereignty would not only be a violation of the final act but also undermine relations between the countries with different social systems.

The GDR Academy of Sciences, institutions of higher education and all other GDR scientific institutions will examine thoroughly the scientific contributions of the forum and its results which according to their importance will influence positively the future development of our international relations.

8889

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

FRG EVANGELICAL CHURCH VISITOR--On Monday, 17 March 1980, Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, received Land Bishop Dr Eduard Lohse of Hannover, chairman of the Evangelical Church Council in Germany, for talks in which Bishop Dr Albrecht Schoenherr, chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, also participated. At the meeting, Land Bishop Lohse and Bishop Schoenherr briefed the state secretary about the efforts of the FRG and GDR Evangelical churches to assert their joint responsibility for securing peace in the present world political situation effectively and in a manner appropriate for them. In doing so, they stressed that the Evangelical churches must independently carry out their service in different social systems but that, being churches at the juncture of the two great social systems, they regard it as their special responsibility to endorse peace, detente, and disarmament. The talks took place in a frank atmosphere. Land Bishop Lohse is staying in the capital as a guest of the GDR church federation to give a lecture to Berlin clergymen about church and theological problems. [Text] [AU190919 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Mar 80 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

CATHOLIC PAPER ENDORSES STAND OF ACADEMICIAN KOPECZI

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Feb 80, p 2

[Article: "The State of Everyday Consciousness"]

[Text] An article by academician Bela Kopeczi entitled "Concerning Everyday Consciousness," published in the Sunday, February 3, issue of MAGYAR NEMZET, presents ideas that are, in many respects, instructive and well worth taking into consideration. He directs our attention to the "useful knowledge" that basically determines "the behavior, life-style, and activity of people, above all in moral and aesthetic forms of consciousness."

"When we examine the level of knowledge," he writes, inter alia, "we must admit that a significant part of the population usually knows few things well, precisely, or correctly. Sociological surveys consistently demonstrate that the majority is uninformed, not only about history, but about the present, about the affairs of the country and the world. They acquire the techniques of their trades, but these still do not make them aware of the related natural and social sciences. This first of all, raises the question of the effectiveness of teaching, for teaching is what transmits the bulk of knowledge and makes people aware of what has been acquired in practice."

"Religion is the oldest ideological factor influencing everyday consciousness, and it is this that has been forced to retreat in the past decades as a result of general secularization; however, it has a strong impact on the broad masses through its traditions, rituals, and views on the great questions of life and death. It is only educational activity, which is based on science, appreciates social progress and human effort, and builds on personal experiences, and which does not exclude cooperation in practical questions and dialogue on principles that may aid the transformation of the deep strata of everyday consciousness."

Bela Kopeczi's words--even if spoken in the Scientists' Club about the most recent television world views and the ideological waves of the 1970's--again focus on essentials. Explicitly and implicitly he dwells on the question of how further Hungarian economic and social development be conceived

without an effective dialogue, a constellation in principles and practice of world views. Is progress possible without genuine collaboration and genuine differentiation? There is a greater and greater need for productive discussions about domestic concerns and values. There is a need for a rapprochement, even a reconciliation on the views of life's problems and our joint affairs; there is a need for expanding knowledge and education--total education--on the level of universal culture, independent thought, and initiative, but at the same time also for protection, democratization, and discipline of all this.

We feel that what is primarily at issue is participation. Participation that, if it is both valued and sincere, stimulates people to examine and investigate all kinds of things, because they feel them and they know them, they count on them, and their words will have effect. They can take part in weighty decisions, only when all their statements, recommendations, and opinions are supported with arguments, wisdom, skill, and responsibility. If having a voice in public affairs is only a sham, or if it is the right only of the privileged, or if perchance there are ideological obstacles, or if we may speak, but no action is taken--why indeed should a person, who is at peace and with his this or that way of work, still strive for education, good orientation or a more thorough ability to evaluate situations?

The question of education, however, cannot be divided, but must be general, and therefore applicable to everything and everybody. How then can improved education be conceived which excludes this or that stratum of society, precisely because of its unique demands? For us this means that for total social education we also need to cultivate our world view and our faith. There is need for modern religious instruction, modern book publishing and a modern media to be available to the believer and to help him get his bearings in the changing and developing relations of the world, the society, and the church.

In all this the following statements from Bela Kopecki's article only fortify us: "Socialism has, above all in the political form of consciousness, put into a dominant position ideas that have become part of everyday consciousness. These include equal rights, social justice, equality, security of life and work, sense of community belonging, and the idea of consciousness. These are not uniformly interpreted and are not uniformly realized; still, they are by no means only abstract concepts, but living values. To reinforce the everyday socialist consciousness, there is a need to strengthen moral and aesthetic consciousness and of the new values and system of values."

We would add only the following: not only the strengthening of the new values and system of values can be important, but also the understanding and nurturing of those old and new values and values systems stemming from Christian concepts like--Christian ethics, the Gospel teaching of the Gospels, Christian philosophic ideas, etc. The modern interpretation and adaptation of these have brought and will bring many people closer to respecting, considering, or accepting the new values and system of values.

ENROLLMENT TO THEOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCE COURSE INVITED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 24 Feb 80 p 1

[Article" "Enrollment in the Theological Correspondence Division"]

[Text] The Correspondence Division of the Roman Catholic Theological Academy is opening enrollment to laymen--male and female--in order to make possible the acquisition of theological knowledge.

Registration as a regular student in the Correspondence Division is open to all those who are over 18 years old, have a secondary school diploma, have successfully passed an examination before the admissions committee, present an official certificate of good character and a church recommendation, and are not currently enrolled at another college.

The course of instruction of the Correspondence Division is divided into six semesters. Included in the instruction are three seminars each semester--held on Saturdays and Sundays--consisting of attendance at lectures by specialists and group or individual discussion of the subject-matter. Students will take an examination each semester on the subjects studied.

Those who complete all six semesters will receive a certificate of completion.

The fee for the entrance examination is 100 forints, and for registration, 100 forints. Tuition is 600 forints per semester. In justified cases application may be made for a tuition reduction.

Please address requests for admission to the following address:

Dr Tamas Nyiri, Director, Correspondence Division of the Roman Catholic Theological Academy, 5-7 L. Eotvos Street, Budapest 1053.

Application deadline: 15 April 1980

Entrance examinations will be held in May.

8971

CSO: 2500

POLAND

NATIONAL UNITY FRONT ELECTION DECLARATION PUBLISHED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Feb 80 p 3

[Article: Declaration accepted by All-Polish National Unity Front Committee, dated Warsaw, 21 Feb 80]

[Text] Citizens! Compatriots!

On 23 March the Polish nation will select its representatives--deputies to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] and representatives to voivodship People's Councils.

In view of the election--an eventful act to fulfill the constitutional principle of democracy--the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the Democratic Party [SD], the trade unions, organizations representing youth, women, veterans, farmers and cooperatives, socio-professional and cultural organizations, and Catholic and Christian associations--all the social forces incorporated within the National Unity Front [FJN], present to the citizens of the PRL--people of all occupations and ages--an election declaration which is based on the resolutions of the 8th PZPR Congress.

In presenting to the Polish nation our collective position, we are guided by the desire to further strengthen the power and significance of Poland in the world, strengthening peace and cooperation among nations.

By means of the productive work and management of the working class, farmers and intellectuals, and all of our citizens, we aim to enlarge the common loaf of bread and divide it equitably.

We want to ensure the harmonious development of the entire country, all of its regions, voivodships, cities and gminas. We will create conditions to better meet the needs of its residents, to improve the quality of work and life of Poles. Our goal is to build a developed socialist society.

We want science, education and culture to enrich the spiritual life and moral values of the nation even more than heretofore.

We wish Polish families prosperity and increasingly better conditions for educating and upbringing the younger generation.

These goals are imbued with the resolutions of the 8th PZPR Congress. Let us implement the Party's program, which was discussed among the people--a guideline for coming actions for the entire nation in the coming years!

Citizens!

We base our plans and goals on the firm and enduring foundations erected by the labor of the nation during 35 years of People's Poland.

A great and important part of Poland's socialist accomplishment was created in the 1970s, a period in which a strategy was implemented that was formulated by the 6th PZPR Congress and developed by the 7th PZPR Congress.

It is a strategy which places man's welfare and development above all else, creates conditions to increasingly satisfy the nation's material and spiritual needs, and combines concern about today with strengthening the foundations of the future.

In realizing this strategy, we accelerated the development of Poland, expanded and modernized industrial potential, guaranteed the education and employment of 6 million young people, and improved the nation's standard of living.

The outcome of the 8th PZPR Congress is proof of the results achieved through shared work, social activism and citizen concern for the welfare of the Fatherland.

All who served this national cause through work and thought have a right to feel their obligation is well fulfilled.

The All-Polish National Unity Front Committee conveys its complements and thanks to the deputies of the 7th Sejm and to the representatives to voivodship People's Councils. Their productive activity deserves high recognition.

In emphasizing with satisfaction the achieved results and progress, we are aware of the difficulties and problems which life confers upon us. The next few years also will not be easy. We say this openly. In the collective wisdom as well as joint and effective actions of the Government and citizens, we see a guarantee for further progress in the development of our Fatherland.

The common committal of attitude of all Poles, the voluntary participation in overcoming difficulties and eliminating shortcomings, the improvement of social discipline and sense of responsibility, the development of management and increase in thriftiness will enable us to achieve the ambitious, common and personal goals.

We have a modern industry and expanding agriculture; we have many natural resources and a developed socio-economic infrastructure. We must utilize this tremendous potential more fully.

We are an ambitious and energetic nation; we have a trump card in our youth; we are rich in qualified cadres, wise minds and exceptional talents. We can depend on public patriotism to serve Poland and the willingness to work hard and sacrifice for the Fatherland.

The strength, security and influence of the Fatherland, and better living conditions and prosperity for all families are inseparably linked with the results of management and more productive work, with strengthening the unity of all patriotic forces in the name of national goals.

Compatriots!

The program passed by the 8th Congress of the guiding force of the nation--the PZPR--responds to the dictates of the present and the needs of the future. The All-Polish National Unity Front Committee accepts this program as the FJN platform for the election campaign for the Sejm and voivoidship People's Councils.

It is a program that is faithful to the principle of socialism--concern for man. It guarantees the continuation of primary, social goals for the development of the country, and it serves to strengthen the sense of confidence in tomorrow and to improve living conditions.

We will look after the Polish family to strengthen and develop it. We favor expanding the upbringing values of family life, expanding the role of mothers and fathers in bringing up their children as good Poles, upright people and worthy citizens.

Guided by the principle of social justice, we will strive to improve the environment and situation of lower salaried families. We will continue to gradually increase the lowest wages.

Social interests require close linkage between the pay and income of workers in urban and rural areas and productivity of work in the socialized economy, between increased production and the sale of the nation's produce.

We will conduct a pricing policy that will ensure the realization of the planned increase in people's real wages and incomes as well as pensions, annuities and other social services. At the same time we will oppose incomes not acquired via legitimate work input.

Thinking of the future, we will do everything to create conditions for young people to achieve the best education and upbringing, to initiate them into work and participation in social and political life. It is a matter of honor for young people to repay society's solicitude and efforts by faithfully fulfilling their obligations.

We will concern ourselves with conditions for a peaceful old age for all laboring people, especially the generations that served in the battle for the freedom of the Fatherland, for a socialist Poland and its all-around development.

In increasing construction, we will strive to assure each family their own dwelling.

We will consistently implement the goals and tasks of the agricultural policy formulated by the PZPR and ZSL with the idea of better satisfying the people's food needs.

We will simplify conditions of life by continuing to expand and improve the level of services, realizing the joint policy for expanding services and handicrafts established by the PZPR and ZSL.

Among national tasks, there is the further expansion of medical care and improvement of the health care system, and the continuous improvement of working conditions and work safety. We will strive to increase the number of days free from work. We will expand sport and tourism and other forms of recreation.

We will make the coming years a period of further expansion for Polish science, education and culture, and many activities and undertakings serving to increase the nation's intellectual potential, expanding its horizons and enriching its spiritual life.

Through total participation in the elections, we express our support for the social goals of the 8th PZPR Congress!

Their realization, however, still requires immense material resources which we must achieve together through work and economy. The key to improving standards of living is higher quality of work. There is no other way of increasingly satisfying our needs.

Ensuring the further, more balanced and harmonious development of the economy, alleviating disproportions and strains, balancing the economic front and assuring high effectiveness of each activity are important.

We will continue to expand work on the integrated development of the Vistula and other Polish water resources.

We will enrich the potential of the economy with new, essential objects, and intensive modernization of the economy will continue.

To carry out these tasks under difficult conditions, economic results in all sectors must improve. We must work more effectively and more economically to lower production costs in all industrial and agricultural enterprises, on all construction projects.

Daily economy at work and in the home, as well as the conservation of fuels and energy, raw materials and materials is the order of the day which will create great social gains and multiply the national wealth.

Let management efficiency be a concern for the entire nation, for all cells of our economy, for all groups and for each worker!

Consistently initiated improvements in the functioning of the economy, better management efficiency, increased sense of responsibility of management personnel, better work organization and more rapid technological progress are all needed to accomplish this.

Significant reserves, both on a large scale as well as those in sight or at hand, are available to us. One needs only to reach for them, release and use them. The proposals of the national pre-Congress discussions must be consistently implemented. Above all, the successful realization of our joint plans depend on this; this is the way to improve living conditions.

The realization of the resolutions of the 8th Congress--the program of the Party and the nation--is the concern of all citizens. Let us support it with earnest work and management.

Compatriots!

The Polish People's Republic is a socialist state in which the government belongs to the working people of the cities and countryside. Socialist democracy permits people of labor to participate in government and management, creates extensive fields for initiatives, suggestions and improvements that serve to multiply collective goods and solve common problems.

Our nation constantly needs our knowledge and experience, our council and proposals, our participation in decisions along with their implementation, and total involvement in public life and dedicated social activity.

The National Unity Front--uniting all patriots in service to the socialist Fatherland--is the most extensive platform for the development of democratic discussions, for the confrontation of various viewpoints and attitudes in order to develop the best programs and solutions.

Our system of democratic institutions is well developed and our experiences with their operations are extensive. Today, the most important thing is to improve their functioning at all levels--from top to bottom, disseminating democratic attitudes and traditions.

May the will of laboring people be expressed ever more fully in the operations of socialist democratic institutions!

May citizenly activity and social initiative manifest themselves ever more extensively!

All of us must master democracy and act according to its principles, bringing to fulfillment the unity of rights and duties.

The activities of representative organs, to which the Constitution gives top priority in a government-of-the-people system, is of special significance.

We will strengthen the position of the Sejm as the highest state organ that undertakes complex problems of life and the development of the country, representing the law of the land and effectively controlling the activities of the Administration.

We will expand the role of People's Councils as regional organs of national government and social self-government. In accord with the goals of the eventful reforms of the 1970s, we will continue to expand their powers and to improve conditions in order for them to execute their functions and regional management tasks. The range of the regional economy subject to the councils will be expanded, and council coordination powers and inspection functions will be strengthened.

The development of a socialist democracy requires expanded consultation with social control and extended discussions on the problems of the country, voivodships, cities, gminas and settlements. This is linked with the consistent use of powers by cooperatives, professional and worker self-government units as well as urban and rural housing self-government units.

We will raise the rank of law and strengthen the foundations of law and order. The amended Code for Administrative Procedures, which enables courts to determine the legality of administrative decisions, should lend itself to improved relations between bureaucrats and citizens.

Through the collective efforts of the Party, allied parties and collaborating social forces, we strengthen the principles of socialist social justice. We care about the absolute respect for the rights and interests of working people. We support the just appraisal of people and the just division of wealth based on work input!

We are building a society of patriots of the socialist Fatherland, morally healthy, sensitive to human misery and to every sign of wavering of principles of coexistence in society and in the family, combating signs of alcoholism and parasitism. We are building a society of dedicated people, righteous citizens who are guided by the generally recognized principles of social coexistence and professional ethics, taking advantage of their rights and fulfilling their obligations, participating in constructive discussions and acting effectively, and thinking in terms of the state which they govern and manage in common!

The shaping of a society having such traits and values serves to strengthen national unity. This unit is a great, historical accomplishment, the source of creative might and a guarantee of successful development.

We strengthen and expand this unity!

There is a place in it for all the sons and daughters of the Fatherland, for all patriots regardless of their origin or past, age and education, occupation and function, regardless of their world view.

We support the constitutional principles of freedom of conscience, freedom of religion and convictions, tolerance of world views and the separation of Church and state. We remember the Church's contribution in maintaining Polish national values and cultural heritage during difficult periods of our history. The PRL respects and values the participation of religious people in the national work of developing the country. This is well served by the collaboration of the Catholic Church and other denominations with a socialist state to strengthen the family, to counteract negative moral phenomena, to promulgate the understanding of the superiority of public welfare, to unite the people in the name of the security and prosperity of People's Poland.

He who strengthens the unity of the nation serves Poland and its interests. Such is the truth resulting from the experiences of our modern history and justified by the tasks which we will realize in the coming years. Let us acknowledge it on election day!

Compatriots!

To live in peace is valued by our nation above all else. Attaching such great importance to peace is a result of our history, especially the tragic experiences of World War II.

Peace and the strengthening of Poland's security and international position are being served consistently by a constant and correct foreign policy line that was assumed from the very start of People's Poland. The legitimacy of this line is confirmed by the 35-year period of peaceful creative development and the increase in the nation's strength. Thanks to this peace, Poland today occupies a worthy and esteemed position in Europe and the world.

The alliance, friendships and fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic, and with all the countries of the socialist commonwealth are the fundamental foundation of our foreign policy.

The creative and multilateral development and consolidation of this cooperation serves our national interests, increases mutual benefits, and serves socialism and peace.

In strengthening the bonds of multilateral collaboration, in strengthening and improving the organs of our alliance and cooperation--the Warsaw Pact and CEMA--we see the vital factor for the security and successful socio-economic development of each of our states, and also strong support for an active policy of peace, dialog and cooperation among nations.

Knowing the value and significance of peace, we know that the security and peaceful existence of a nation are not conferred by history once and for ever. The process of detente, which in the 1970s provided much good for states and nations, especially on the continent of Europe, is not an automatic process. The current development of events, the striving of enemies of detente to escalate the arms race as expressed by the NATO decision not too long ago regarding the production and deployment in Western Europe of new types of nuclear rockets, prove that peace and detente must be fought for constantly and stubbornly.

The Polish nation has a special obligation and moral right to speak out against aggravations in the international situation that endanger the peace and security of all the nations of Europe.

In proclaiming ourselves in favor of prompt, concrete and effective steps to stop the arms race and open the road to disarmament, we fervently endorse the important initiative of Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, calling for a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe to be held in our heroic capital, the city of peace, Warsaw.

Based on the principle of peaceful coexistence, we express a willingness to develop a constructive dialog and mutually beneficial collaboration with nations having different systems, especially traditional collaboration with European countries.

We favor good friendship and collaboration with the developing and nonaligned countries. Faithful to the lofty Polish tradition expressed in the motto "For Your Freedom and Ours," we solidly support the nations fighting for national and social freedom against imperialism, colonialism, against all forms of force and pressure.

The blossoming and prosperity of the Fatherland, its good name and authority in the world are the common concern of all Poles. In the name of affection for the patriotic values and glorious heritage of our nation, in the name of our native land, we will strengthen the links of cooperation with Polonia, with compatriots living in various countries of the world.

By conducting a foreign policy of peace, we strengthen the country's security--we strengthen the army of People's Poland--the patriotic guardian of the Fatherland.

Based on our strength and the strength of the Warsaw Pact, we will do everything possible so that current and future generations of Poles can live and work in peace.

To strengthen the might and security of the Fatherland, its position and authority in the world are the common goal of all Poles!

The people's Fatherland is our pride, our common home and collective obligation. All of us are responsible for the Poland of today and the Poland of tomorrow; all of us should forge her might and prosperity.

May the citizen's sense of responsibility accompany all our personal and collective action, may it shape the attitude of each Pole to duty toward the Fatherland'

May the election campaign be held in an atmosphere of highly productive and political activity of the whole society in a climate of citizenly concern about national matters!

Through participation in the elections we manifest our patriotic unity and support of the National Unity Front program!

Everyone to the election urns!

All votes for the FJN candidates!

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POLAND

JABLONSKI COMMENTS ON NATIONAL UNITY FRONT DECLARATION

Warsaw TRYBUNAL LUDU in Polish 22 Feb . 30 p 4

[Speech by Henryk Jablonski, Council of State chairman, All-Polish National Unity Front committee chairman, to the Committee on 21 Feb 1980]

[Text] Esteemed Conferees!

We have gathered here in conjunction with the ending of the terms of the Sejm and voivodship People's Councils, just a few days after the ending of the 8th PZPR Congress, which was preceded by a national debate on the guidelines published by the Central Committee.

The guidelines title, "On the Further Development of Socialist Poland and the Prosperity of the Polish Nation," a title which represents its contents well, shows that the Party, in fulfilling its constitutionally authorized role, initiated a dialog with the people about the most important problems of their present and future, about our planned collective activities in the service to the Fatherland.

The dialog was sincere; nothing was concealed, neither the weak side of the present situation, nor reasons for shortages and shortcomings, nor the objective and subjective difficulties we will have to overcome.

We could carry on such a discussion because we are aware that we are traveling down the correct path, that the overall balance of our work results is highly favorable, work that has been executed in accordance with the programs of the 6th and 7th PZPR Congresses and that have been accepted by the whole Polish nation.

We could and should speak sincerely since all our accomplishments are the result of common efforts by Poles. All achievements, which we rightfully take pride in, are the work of the entire nation. The whole nation is the manager of its country and the Party, its political vanguard, at each of its congresses presents to the nation the results of its activities.

But such is the character of our socialist system, whose highest goal is the welfare of man, and whose basis of activity is faith in man. The national debate rolled on in an atmosphere of mutual trust and sincerity, engendered in the principles of democracy. A detailed analysis of this debate resulted in the program of the 8th Party Congress.

Program of the 8th PZPR Congress, Basis of the FJN Election Platform

After the announcement by the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee of the program report, in which our people saw the reflection of their thoughts, joys, and concerns, our nation followed the Congress sessions with the greatest interest. Its resolutions and recommendations were awaited as a great event. This did not happen merely because the Party is the guiding political force of our state. Above all this is the result of the pre-Congress discussions. It showed that the strategy formulated at the 6th and 7th Congresses brought about far-reaching results. At the same time, the discussion showed that a simple continuation of this strategy is not now sufficient because of the extensive changes, positive as well as negative, in the overall situation of the country, and that in retaining all of its basic assumptions, we must restate our tasks in order to stand up to difficulties, to assure conditions for the further development of our State and the continuous building of a developed socialist society.

The Party inspired and roused the people with this discussion. Many members of the ZSL and SD, non-party FJN activists, social organization activists, workers, peasants and the intelligentsia also contributed to it. And thus, from a common desire, from common experiences, from our aspirations and goals, from the confrontation of desires and possibilities a program arose that was specifically shaped by the Congress' basic resolution.

This is actually what Polish society was waiting for, and the Party, in accordance with its historical mission, fulfilled this obligation. As a consequence, the program accepted by the Congress is the program of the nation and for the nation; it will be realized for us all and by us all. The Central Commission for Understanding between the PZPR and the other Political Parties had this in mind in recommending it as the FJN platform in the election campaigns for the Sejm and voivodship People's Councils. The Presidium of the All-Polish FJN Committee shares this opinion fully and presented for discussion to the Plenary Assembly a plan for an appropriate declaration. This releases me from presenting a report on it. However, esteemed conferees, I want to bring to your attention the tasks resulting from it for all cells of the Front.

We all are well acquainted with the Congress' resolutions and the program report which include extensive documentation justifying the Party line, specifying tasks for the state government and explaining all the basic problems of the nation's life. But to know is not enough. This cannot be sufficient for any patriot, for conscientious citizens, and at the same time it means great tasks for us FJN activists. It is our task to constantly

expand society's awareness that the program passed by the 8th Congress represents a single, compact, inseparable whole, and of equal importance are those obligations that they place on the top state leaders as well as those which concern each one of us regardless of city or character of our work.

Thus, we must utilize all our possibilities, all forms of actions that are available to us to inform everyone of the truth that the realization of a difficult and ambitious program, such as we all accepted willingly, is not executed automatically. It requires daily, persistent work from all organs of authority and administration, from all enterprises and institutions, and from each of us.

Activity and Sense of Coresponsibility of All Working People

We spoke of this during the congress and so did the new president of the Council of Ministers in his first declaration in the Sejm, that is, we must improve the mechanisms of management, adapting them to present circumstances, internal as well as external, harmonizing the economy, paying special attention to sectors of the economy where underdevelopment or unsound operations prevent the achievement of appropriate results by the overall great manufacturing base which was modernized in the 1970s. However, this is but one side of the story. In the final analysis what counts is what happens in the whole nation and in the workplaces and at all occupational levels. We should tell ourselves sincerely that without a true joint effort the full, quick and effective use of new machines and new technologies will not be possible; on the contrary, it will imperil our sense of a huge growth in production potential which we justifiably take pride in. Thus we must appeal to the desires and management know-how of all the people, to the universal understanding that raising the material and spiritual level of millions of Polish families depends on us alone.

A comparison of the difficulties we are experiencing with the scope of the realistically delineated socio-economic goals of the program leads to a conclusion about the significance for their successful implementation of people's attitudes toward work, the professional and social obligations they have, and the state and nation. Management efficiency, labor productivity, and a sense of coresponsibility for Poland, for its present and its future, are expressed differently in their concrete forms in the activity of a minister or director of a large plant, a craftsman, worker or scholar, a farmer or a doctor, but they obligate each one always, every day. They should cease to be a summons and change into a component part of the psyche of a Pole.

For this to happen in the future, we must not only exhort good work, conscientiousness, and quality, and appeal to citizens' consciences, but we also must strengthen participation in our socialist democracy and care about the all-around development of Man, about the ever higher level of his overall professional and political knowledge, his culture and

morality. At the same time we must strive more completely to realize social justice, which represents the basic foundation of our system, and also combat ruthlessly all that contradicts it, that which is an infringement of the truth, that which is contrary to social and socialist ethics of interhuman relationships.

As a matter of fact, all of these are but different interdependent elements of that same great process whose beginning will lastingly mark the entrance of the present generation into the history of our nation--the building of a developed socialist society.

Faith in Man lies at the base of our democracy. Thus, it is very important to constantly expand coparticipation of laboring people in government and management, to give them a real feeling that they influence the resolution of problems of their environment and even directly of the whole country, and that they are responsible for this. This must enter into the blood of each citizen, become a part of his everyday life, pervade his whole outlook on life, have an effect on influencing the motives of his conduct.

We have an extensive system of various forms of democracy. This is very important, but it is not enough. The fulfillment and expansion of socialist democracy is possible not only because of the existence of opportune institutional conditions but also, and above all, because of the volition of social action. No institution--a council or self-government unit--can guarantee the realization of the principles of democracy just because it formally exists. The practical results of an institution's functioning depend on the attitudes, desire and know-how of citizens who participate in their activity, on the activity and sense of coresponsibility of all working people.

Thus, we FJN activists face a very important task: arousing this activity to extract the immense creative potential intrinsic in society by using democratic institutions. Millions of Poles carry within themselves experiences obtained in the building of People's Poland, knowledge about the true status of all our affairs; they have their thoughts, they are capable of valuable initiatives; one has but to set them in motion.

These values and qualifications are a great reserve of possibilities for the further development of the Fatherland. We must constantly strive after this practically inexhaustable capital of citizen involvement of ever increasing number of people in our society.

Central and regional cells of the Front will not fulfill their task if they are unaware how much has yet to be done to universalize the understanding that democratic methods of coparticipation are one of the important guarantees for the proper resolution of important problems in the interest of the people and on the fulfillment of which the development of our country depends.

They can protect us against many errors, allow us to utilize their collective wisdom and experiences to select the best variants of undertaken decisions, and finally they create especially advantageous conditions for realizing these decisions, whether in the workplace, town, or countryside, and in certain matters also at higher levels of the organization of social life--this is the actual road that will be taken.

However, it also is true that expanding socialist democracy and the individual values of people associated with its functioning are interrelated. The active participation in social life by socialist democratic institutions shapes Man positively, and at the same time the "quality" of Man depends on the quality of the actions of these institutions.

Shaping a Socialist Lifestyle

Socialism creates conditions for Man's all-around development. This is visible most directly in the universal access to education and culture or in the development of professional qualifications. These are very important, of course. But no less important is that the socialist system of social relationships makes possible values which during the course of a millenium mankind dreamed as being the highest traits of human nature, such as honesty, honor, integrity, respect for the dignity of other people, conscientiousness, tolerance and many, many others. At the same time it promotes the formation of such traits as a sense of collectivism and a creative attitude combined with an aspiration to acknowledge its own individuality in its usefulness to society, combining individual ambitions with the interests of his national or class community and a sense of coresponsibility for its fate.

On this base is formed what in short is known as the socialist lifestyle. However, it is a long-term process if we consider society as a whole. But the greater the guarantee of its dissemination, the faster will the process accelerate, and our battle against all misdeeds that contradict the basic principles of social morality will be more effective.

Where in this battle does the FJN fit, which, of course, has no government powers, does not command means of repression, can neither command or forbid anything? It seems to me that its place is a place all its own--a very important one--especially because of all the above stated reasons. This is so because of its ability to organize public opinion as the highest channel of social praise and social reprimand. It can be a battle sword more effective than the most severe disciplinary or punitive repression. The creation of a climate for censuring and not tolerating evil and that which is immoral and socially harmful is a big task to which we should assure a prominent rank in our action program. At the same time it would be an important contribution to the strengthening of the nation's patriotic unity.

For us there is no more important matter because unity is the basis of our national existence and a guarantee for the continuous development of the might of our State and the constant improvement of the quality of our

life. This is a result of our entire history; it is rooted in Polish culture, defining our national individuality, the boundless offerings of many generations of Poles who fought to maintain our ethnic substance. Our national freedom and social progress are its legacy. In its modern form, concern about maintaining all nontransitory values of a common tradition is linked in a single inseparable whole with citizenly patriotic attitudes regarding affairs of the nation and its socialist state.

Strengthening the Patriotic Unity of the Nation

Never before in old historical systems did conditions exist for such a deeply conceived unity. We could never even dream of such possibilities that exist today to unite the efforts of all Poles to work for the good of the Fatherland, for the common good of the whole society and each one of us. At specific times in the past we were able to unify under circumstances of great danger, when--as the great poet said--it was even necessary to forget about reckoning wrongs. But to wipe the slate clean was not possible so long as the political system giving rise to them existed. That is why the then existing unity was temporary, improvised, unable to take root. Today it is different because together with the birth of People's Poland there arose the prospect of building a society devoid of class antagonisms because after the inevitable period of revolutionary changes we transformed into a state of the whole nation.

I spoke previously about the necessity of continuously developing socialist democracy as an important element of our system. Let us look at it now in relation to the subject now being discussed. It is indeed different from that which we call bourgeois democracy which some like to praise as an example for us to follow. But let us think what it in essence is, even in its most idealistic and theoretical form: it is a battle of incompatible interests which set various classes and strata of a nation against one another. We, however, do not wish to sustain social division but to eliminate it; we want to unite in common activity to expand ever higher common aspirations, ever high goals and ambitions.

Does this idea of unity exclude differences of views and opinions, does it destroy human individuality? On the contrary! Of course it is obvious that each of us views the reality of many specific matters from different observation points, from other experiences, and from other viewpoints. And in association with this, the greater the significance of the discussion and consultations, the greater will be the significance of self-government and the tendency to involve as many interested people as possible in decision processes, people who at the same time have the internal discipline and coherence to realize these decisions.

But this is but one side of the matter. We aim for the many-sided development of a person's individuality, and this beforehand assumes that every human being is a unique individual. And thus it is actually in this differentiation of individuality that we view our common immense wealth.

But all these individuals must be linked together by love for the Fatherland; by the deepest concern for its security, strength, and development, and for a better and better economy and increasingly higher quality of life for Poles; by an identical attitude toward general ideals of peace and justice; and by an ambition that our nation contribute more and more to the treasury of world culture. This same attitude should unite us to meet the needs of our own society and be concerned about its basic cell--the family, and respect for work as a basic criterion of worth.

We desire unity in our comprehension of the principles of interhuman relationships and the ideal of human life. We attach great importance to improving the material welfare of society. We well know how much remains to be done in this area. But our choice is clear regarding the dilemma: a life chasing after riches or a life rich in meaning. We recognize only the latter formula as being compatible with the contemporary Pole. In material goods he must see only the means for creating conditions for a normal human life for himself, permitting him constantly to enrich himself internally, to improve himself, and through this to be more and more useful to those near and dear, to other people and to society. Material goods cannot be for him an end goal in itself or even a sense of life or a measure of his own worth, which is a universal phenomenon in the so-called consumption societies.

And in this we also want to lead to unity, to universality of attitudes. Even though we know that this will not happen quickly, we strive for it because for us the affirmation: "Man--it resounds proudly," is not just a phrase, because we want it to be said of us Poles that each of us is a worthy citizen of his beloved country, strong in its creative potential, its culture, its position in the noble battle for a better and more just world.

With love for the Fatherland and with a willingness to serve the nation, nothing can divide us. Regardless of social background, education, occupation, philosophical views or religious orientation, we are children of the same mother, of one great family. As emphasized in our declaration, let us work as good-naturedly as possible for her welfare. It is a matter of our duty and honor, of a debt of the heart to our predecessors who, in spite of all adversities of fate, maintained our national identity; it is a matter of responsibility toward future generations.

The Prosperity of the State and the Citizen are Closely Related

Esteemed Conferees!

I allowed myself in these few post-Congress reflections to touch upon only a small number of the tasks that await us. I limited myself only to those which in the very near future can become a part of a general discussion on the Front's election platform, and which directly concern the daily scope of our work. However, we should not limit ourselves to this during the election campaign. If I did not speak here about the Party program passed by the Congress, it is only because of the deep conviction that the program

is well known to everyone, and each of us has thought about it thoroughly. Of course it is obvious that we must make sure that it enters into the common consciousness of our compatriots, that the election campaign becomes an incentive for each citizen to reflect on the close link between that which is general, that which concerns the development of the strength and position of the state as our common good and that which he perceives as good for his environment, his city, his rural area or gmina, for the good of his family and his own self.

It is our task as FJN activists to increase the general awareness that the prosperity of the state and the citizen are closely linked. This can be facilitated by an understanding of the goals for which we aim, the conditions under which we will realize the program developed by the Party as well as the importance of individual tasks, the execution of which are essential to fulfill our expectations for this program.

During the course of this campaign, we should create conditions so that every Pole would form his individual attitude based on the most extensive knowledge possible of contemporary problems, that he understand the sense of our strategy, that he know its results to date, the external and internal conditioning for the further socio-economic development of the nation, and that he know the significance of the outlined perspectives for the coming years. We must do everything possible that he know why the strongest links exist between socio-economic plans and the battle for peace, that he understand the significance of socialist economic integration and friendship with the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp, which is so strongly emphasized by us, for his own self and for his near and dear ones. In this way we must see to it that his own knowledge and citizenly awareness as a man of labor increases, that he understands the importance of the state act in which he will participate, that he believe as fully as possible in his own role in realizing our national goals and in the benefits that will accrue to him from this.

Thus, we must reach all citizens with our program, demonstrate to each voter to what extent the tempo of the march toward the goals outlined and accepted by him is actually up to him. Only then will the old patriotic motto: "The Fatherland in each Polish heart" will take on a realistic, practical meaning, and the work of millions will hasten the day that when the word "Poland" is spoken it will mean a strong and secure country, a country of continuous progress, a country continually expanding culturally, a land of prosperous families and earnest, noble people.

11899

CSO: 2600

DANISH CITIZEN WHO DEFECTED IN 1964 HELD A YEAR ON SPY CHARGE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Convicted Spy Home After 407 Days in a Polish Prison"]

[Text] Tired and pale, but happy, 42-year-old Danish-Polish Engineer Sylwester Pucek on the weekend was united with his family in Billund after a 407-day stay in a Polish prison. Pucek, who was detained by the police when last January 12 he crossed the German-Polish border near Slubice near Frankfurt an der Oder, today says:

"I figured the whole time that it was a misunderstanding. I think the Polish authorities also acknowledged this by making the sentence so light."

The reunion with his wife, Master of Music Anna Pucek, took place Saturday evening at Kastrup Airport. A few hours later the released man got a tremendous reception in his home in Billund from his son Michel, who was only two years old when Pucek was arrested last year. All weekend flowers and gifts poured in from friends and acquaintances in Billund, where his former place of work Lego has held his old job open for him. Pucek counts on beginning to work this month after a thorough medical examination. He has recently suffered from a little illness and has for one thing been operated on for a hernia.

Laughed at Charge

Sylwester Pucek in a conversation with VEJLE AMTS FOLKEBLAD says that he was released from prison in Gdansk last Friday at 1130 hours. He was fetched by Danish Embassy Secretary Oluf Pedersen and together they traveled to Warsaw, where Pucek spent the night with a brother before the airplane trip to Copenhagen on Saturday.

Sylwester Pucek was charged and convicted according to Article 124 Paragraph 1 of the Polish Penal Code. This paragraph concerns espionage, with a sentence ranging from five years to the death penalty. The sentence came to read three and one half years of prison.

Sylwester Pucek relates that he laughed when he was charged with espionage in Gdansk. He had until then been in the custody of the county jail in Gorzow and was taken by the naval police to Gdansk on January 17.

"I asked them to define the term espionage. They said that they had evidence. I knew that this could not be true," relates Pucek and adds:

"To me espionage is an activity one carries out for a prolonged time with a definite purpose, either ideological or for the purpose of earning money. This has never been the case for me. Perhaps it could have been imagined that I betrayed someone by telling my life story when I defected to Denmark in 1964. But this type of thing is covered by an entirely different paragraph which I was not convicted for. They were not able to present evidence against me either in the form of documents or witnesses. But the judge accepted the charge anyway. I appealed but never got a reason for knowing why the sentence was upheld according to espionage paragraph 124. The prison sentence was just lowered to the lightest it could be."

Pucek states that he was arrested "by orders from higher places." Pucek has no complaints about his treatment in prison.

"The personnel behaved correctly. But of course it is not pleasant to sit together with criminals who have 15 or 25 years of prison behind them."

8985

CSO: 3106

PROPER ROLE OF LONG-TERM, 5-YEAR, ANNUAL PLANS VIEWED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 2 Apr 80 p 1

[Article by Z. Kom]

[Text] It was precisely the five-year plan which was given the highest rank in our entire planning system by the resolutions of the Eighth PZPR Congress. What is at issue is that it become the basic tool for guiding the economy and that it specify the primary goals, means, and instruments of socio-economic policy. The five-year plan, as a strategic plan, ought to shape the directions of structural transformations in our economy and ought to serve the purpose of its harmonious development.

Annual planning must be appropriately modified and adjusted to this leading role of the five-year plan. To start with, it ought to become a real tool for efficient direction of the economy, but always within the framework specified by the five-year plan and with adaptations to the current conditions of socio-economic development. This last point is to insure the realism of the plans.

The general determinations included in the most recent version of the perspective plan ought to be the basis of the conception and guiding assumptions of the five-year plan. Several years ago a general perspective plan for the period up to 1990 was developed, as were also fragmentary perspective programs in the areas, among others, of housing economy and feeding of the nation. A perspective plan for development of the country was also accepted. Today these plans require updating, since those difficulties and new phenomena which the current five-year period has brought us were not foreseen when they were put together. Today it is known that, for many reasons, it will not be implemented in full. Hence there will be a need to do simultaneous work on the successive version of the perspective plan for the period up to 1995, the prognoses for the period up to 2000, and the variants of the draft five-year plan for 1981-85.

The shortcomings of our planning are known. For years there have been accumulating justified complaints about the schematism of the plan; about the "orderliness" of the central plan, which is manifested in a growing

number of directives; about the incompatibility of directive indices; and about the non-utilization of initiatives from below in planning and the resulting contradictions of planning.

Hence also the unusual importance for economic policy of the directive, expressed in the resolution of the Eighth PZPR Congress, which states that, in strengthening the rank of central planning, we ought to concentrate on revealing in it long-range conceptions of economic development. This concerns perspective programs and plans, since even multi-year plans, and not just annual plans, encompass too short a period of time for it to be possible within their time frame to solve the many complex socio-economic problems which are, by nature, constant.

We ought to concentrate on creating in the entire planning system the conditions needed for the elaboration of the required proportions of development and for the determination of the general directions of economic development and the social progress based on it. These proportions and dependences ought to be conceived as variants. These variants will permit selection of the optimal variant. For this variant of the perspective plan, conditions ought to be created which would assure rigorous observance of plan determinations in successive five-year and one-year time segments.

When we speak about multi-year planning we also cannot forget that, in order to mobilize society to do better work and in order to link the individual fate of every citizen with the development of the country, it is necessary to show as fully as possible a development perspective which would in a convincing manner elucidate the ways and methods for getting out of our current difficulties and tensions.

CSO: 2600

COMINFORM ESTABLISHMENT, DISSOLUTION RECALLED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 6, November-December 1979, organ of the Institute of Historical and Socio-Political Studies of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, pages 123-149, publishes, under the heading "The International Workers Movement," the following documents: The Communiqué on the Informative Conference of Representatives of Some Communist Parties; the Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Bulgarian Workers (Communist) Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Hungarian Communist Party, the Polish Workers Party, the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the USSR, the French Communist Party, the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party, on the International Situation; and the Resolution on the Exchange of Experience and Coordination of the Activity of Parties Represented at the Conference, originally published in PENTRU PACE TRAINICA, PENTRU DEMOCRATIC POPULARA! [FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!], No 1, 10 November 1947, Bucharest; the Informative Communiqué on the Cessation of the Activity of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties, originally published in FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY! No 16 (389), of 17 April 1956; the Final Document Adopted by the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe: "For Peace, Security, Collaboration and Social Progress in Europe," originally published in SCIENTEIA, 1 July 1976, Bucharest; and the speech of Nicolae Ceausescu to the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, 29 June 1976, published in the book by Nicolae Ceausescu "Romania de drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate" [Romania on the Road to the Construction of a Multilaterally-Developed Socialist Society], Volume 13, Editura Politica, Bucharest 1977, pp 198-215.

The selections are preceded by an introduction by Emilia Balanica, the text of which follows.

The establishment of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties (Cominform) was decided upon, in September 1947, at Szklarska Poreba (Poland) at the conference of representatives of nine parties: the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Bulgarian Workers (Communist) Party, the Romanian Communist Party, the Hungarian Communist Party, the Polish Workers Party, the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the USSR, the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party.

According to the constitutive documents, the purpose of this organism was to facilitate the exchange of opinions and experience among the member parties and to coordinate their joint actions against the imperialist forces.

The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties held a total of three conferences: the first, on the occasion of its establishment, the second, in June 1948 in Bucharest, and the last, in November 1949 in Budapest.

The official publication of the Information Bureau was FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY!, which appeared initially, on a bi-monthly basis, in Belgrade. Beginning July 1948, the review was published in Bucharest since Yugoslavia no longer belonged to the Cominform.

In April 1956, almost nine years after its establishment, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties ceased its activity.

Referring to the dissolution of the Information Bureau, SCINTEIA of 19 April 1956 stated in an editorial that many elements "prompted the parties participating in the Information Bureau to consider that this organism has exhausted its functions and no longer corresponds to the new conditions and that it is necessary to approach the matter of contacts between the communist parties in a new manner."

In the new period of history, as a result of the immense revolutionary changes produced in the world, as a result of the existence in a number of countries of communist and workers parties which are ruling parties and as a result of their transformation, in other countries, into strong political forces with an important role in the national life of the country, an international center for the movement "is no longer possible nor necessary." In this sense, the Berlin conference of communist and workers parties in Europe, of 29-30 June 1976, in which 29 parties participated, expressed the opinion that, in the present period, characterized by a great diversity of socio-economic and political conditions, the struggle for the achievement of the aims of peace, democracy and social progress is being carried out "on the basis of a political line drawn up and adopted by each party in full autonomy and independence."

At the conference, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, stated that the development of the revolutionary struggle requires permanent relations among communists, among revolutionary forces everywhere, which should, however, be achieved "freely, in the framework of a broad exchange of opinions, without seeking to impose a certain point of view on any party." Such a "unity of a new type," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "will be, undoubtedly, superior from all points of view, assuring full solidarity in the struggle for social progress, for security and peace in Europe and in the world."

We are publishing the document on the establishment of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties and the communique announcing the cessation of its activity.

We are presenting, in the context of the materials published in preceding issues of the review (Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 for 1979) dealing with the formation and dissolution of the Internationals, the final document adopted at the Berlin Conference of communist and workers parties of Europe and the speech of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at this representative forum of European communists.

CSO: 2700

ARTIST DEFENDS MALIGNED CRITIC DAN HAULICA

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 7 Feb 80 p 18

[Letter from Ion Pacea, painter, vice chairman of the Union of Plastic Artists of the Socialist Republic of Romania]

[Text] Dear Comrade Director,

I ask you to be so kind as to publish my thoughts, which I would hope would serve as a shield for us, the plastic artists, against the undesired confusions which might result from the article published in the review FLACARA on 31 January under the title "An orator among painters," signed by Constantin Craciun, an article which by the malice which it bears and the inexactitudes which it offers as information for the readers of the above-named review, is a part of a painful campaign which has been going on for some time to denigrate a man of culture, the critic Dan Haulica.

Among other debatable assertions the article makes one which is very grave in its tone and implications: "I will say what our craft knows." Our craft knows the truth and this truth must reach the readers and all those who are interested in the plastic arts in our country. Constantin Craciun, with ill will, attempts to make me his ally, citing me as one of those allegedly "reprimanded and pushed in the corner" by Dan Haulica. Our entire craft, and Constantin Craciun, too, knows that the truth about the position of Dan Haulica in regard to our art is different from what was stated in the FLACARA article. Dan Haulica appeared 20 years ago in the life of our Union, with the passion and competence which characterizes him. Together with Argintescu-Amza, Comarnescu, Schileru, Frunzetti, Dan Grigorescu, Mindrescu and others, he clarified the place where the gallant struggle would begin for the re-establishment of the values of our art on natural criteria. Joining his efforts with those of the other critics in our country, Dan Haulica has been fighting for the maintenance of a climate of high professionalism. As a result, numerous masters of our art, whose works are now in our museums—Brancusi, Anghel, Ghiata, Lucian Grigorescu, H. H. Catargi, Tuculescu, Ciucurencu, and others—artists in whom we take pride, were brought before the public again. Next, he contributed to the affirmation of our generation, which is now more than 50 years old, and, to the promotion of young artists, by the interpretation of the principal trends

and directions. Under these conditions, in our artistic climate, true criteria were brought back into our cultural life and creators were stimulated to produce an art of quality, an art which was linked to tradition but which was in pace with our times. This effort to integrate our art in the cultural circuit of the country has continued and continues. The organization of various exhibits, symposiums, discussions, in addition to his work as director of the prestigious review SECULUL 20, represents a vast activity on the part of Dan Haulica and we can only wish that it will be just as fervent and fruitful in the future.

The direction in which our community is going, the ideal which animates it and many other comprehensively constructive issues, the great desires for the vitalization of artistic creation have built, by all that has been done by our community in the past 20 years, a beautiful and solid awareness—an awareness of the fact that we know who we are, what we want and where we are going. I have mentioned this to emphasize that the meaning of our life and activity is constructive and these brusque gyrations of persons who demand their "democratic" right to speech to attack anyone they want to attack can only be manifestations of a brutal egoism, which would like to consider itself—no more, no less—as our spokesman. By the painful procedure of rummaging through our files, drawers, books, reviews, and pictures, with the intention of finding, at any price, subjects of calumny, the author of the article proves to be, paradoxically, both victim and hyena. So what good is it?

The attitude of the editorial staff is surprising. In its pursuit of the sensational, it forgets that a review which wants to be cultural is no place for settling accounts and for scandal, for misinforming the masses of readers by inexactitudes, assuming a right which no one can give it, that of compromising the truth by abandoning all ethical ideals and sincere criticism. I believe that I am in accord with the principles of our press by requiring that all reviews be situated on the position of constructive criticism, with no absence of exchanges of ideas, a criticism with an active role in the education of the masses of readers, in the formation of new thought, in the application of the spirit of socialist ethics and equity.

Viewing with the eyes of the mind and heart what is demanded of us, viewing our art which can only be an art of high humanist, social, ethical and aesthetic content, I realize how much need we have of a true, competent, creative criticism. It can point out the qualities and the failures of our work, it can animate or stultify what we offer to the country, to our public, as a result of the passionate, difficult, and responsible qualities of the worker who bears the name of an artist.

CSO: 2700

IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGISTS STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 5 Mar 80 pp 51-52

[Letter to the editor by Florian Popa Micsan, sociologist at the Bucharest Municipality Postal Directorate: "Sociologists Also Have A Word to Add to the Wealth of Ideas"]

[Text] Regarding the need for and the utility of sociology, understood on one hand as a theoretical science with a pronounced applied practical nature and on the other hand as a critical, participative, humanistic and militant awareness, I think it is no longer necessary to dwell on this since things are fully understood. Current Romanian sociology is integrated in the political and ideological activities of the party, proving its efficiency as a science in the process of creating a socialist society.

However, any science is carried out by scientists and specialists and, from this point of view, things are somewhat more complicated. Every country trains the personnel it needs and for that reason we feel the resumption of sociological education in 1966 and the preparation of sociologists in our country were well thoughtout things of a broad view and perspective. The Sociology Section of the Philosophy Department in Bucharest and the psychosociological sections of the departments in Iasi and Cluj-Napoca trained several hundred persons over the past decade who were assigned to jobs in the national economy, with the majority of them serving as sociologists. What do these specialists do, what are they working with, where are they working now, who is interested in them, what specific contributions have they made? These are questions no one has bothered to answer in a documented manner.

Some time ago I proposed, in an article in VIITORUL SOCIAL (No 3/1978), the creation of an assistance and consultation bureau for sociologists working in enterprises that would be involved in practical problems of guiding and training these sociologists. Although these bureaus could have been established alongside any existing research institute - the Center for Sociology, the Research Center for Youth Problems, the

"Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and so forth, nothing has been done to date. Perhaps the Academy of Social and Political Sciences or the National Committee of Sociology, whose activities, parenthetically speaking, have not been too noticeable, have analyzed this proposal?

Although there has been no study carried out regarding the activities and problems of sociologists working in economic-social organizations, one can nonetheless appreciate that many of them are still not carrying out a constant, applied sociological research activity. Many of them cannot carry out their role as specialists in an enterprise, institute or socialist organization and cannot contribute to the improvement of human relations and the rational justification of management decisions in the social field. The work of sociologists, expressed in studies, analyses and investigations in the very broad field of social-human relations, could represent a useful and valuable contribution to the proper working of activities in economic-social units.

There is a specific example in this regard: a sociological analysis of the operations personnel in the postal service resulted in a series of measures to optimize professional selection, integration and promotion of personnel, having direct effects upon the quality of the service provided by the Postal Service, the shortening of the training period for new workers, the reduction of the turnover of personnel and the number of days lost for medical leave and retirements because of illness, the improvement of the use indices for the work day, and the increase of efficiency at work.

And, another example which proves that sociologists can make an important contribution even in the achievement of plan figures: in the wake of a study on the requirements of postal service, the result was that through the modernization and broader advertising of certain special services provided by the Postal Service that were not well known by the public, the Service could obtain, by, for example, increasing the average charge per job by .01 lei, additional income in Bucharest from mail of over one million lei per year.

For the workers in an enterprise, the sociologists represent approximately what the engineers would represent for the technical section of the enterprise. Basically, it is paradoxical that for the technical section of the enterprise there is such a large number of specialists while for the human part, a decisive part for the proper operation of production, there are few specialists and, even more, they are inappropriately used. No one is served when the sociologist is used in activities that can be handled by people with other professional training and, at the same time, the sociological problems remain untouched and thus unsolved. For that reason, I am completely in

agreement with the proposal of sociologist Andrei Gutan, from the Industrial Central for Knitwear, formulated in his note, "Opinions Regarding Research in Industrial Sociology" (ERA SOCIALISTA No 3/1980), to establish a clear statute for the sociologist in the enterprise.

Moreover, countless times attention has been called on a broad scale to the stringent need to arrive at a clarification of the organizational framework in which the sociologists carry out their work. Dr Ion Dragan stressed, in his article, "Sociology, A Theoretical and Applied Science" (ERA SOCIALISTA No 1/1976), the positive implications of regulating the sociologist's professional charter for activities in the field of social research.

In reference to the means of improving the activities of industrial sociologists, I would formulate several proposals:

a) Holding, eventually on a yearly basis, a national symposium of sociologists working in enterprises, an action that would give these persons the opportunity to participate in a systematic, unified and organized specialized scientific event, instead of the sporadic, haphazard events to date. This symposium would occasion the establishment of scientific contacts between sociologists who could reciprocally pass on information regarding the research they are undertaking, providing the basis for a useful exchange of ideas, proposals, ways and means to actively intervene in the dynamics of the researched social processes. At the same time, it would constitute an efficient means to verify the scientific potential of young researchers, as well as an opportunity for discussions, a dialogue between the specialists and the decision-makers involved in the vast action of optimizing the operation of the social mechanism.

b) Studying the possibility of establishing a magazine for sociology in order to stimulate scientific-journalistic activities in the young sociologists. Such a magazine, which could be published by the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and the Research Center for Youth Problems and reach a large circle of readers, would contribute to the more active spread of sociological research and to the growth of its prestige among the ranks of public opinion in our country and among the decision-makers. The magazine would, at the same time, have a political propaganda nature, knowing that sociologists, especially those in the enterprises and institutes, are not merely specialists, but also social activists and the problems of sociology are ones that arouse a broader interest. This is, I think, necessary since the presence of young sociologists in publications such as ERA SOCIALISTA, VIITORUL SOCIAL, CONTEMPORANUL and so forth is sporadic and insignificant. In the event that a new magazine is not now possible, I would suggest that these above publications somehow try to take its place.

c) Establishing in Bucharest a municipal branch of the Research Center for Youth Problems. While the majority of the counties in the country have branches of the Research Center for Youth Problems, within whose framework numerous specialists in the social sciences, activists, professors and so forth are working, for the young researchers in Bucharest, who work in diverse economic units and political-administrative institutions, there appear to be certain difficulties in attracting a sustained research activity in the problems of the youth. The professional activities of the sociologists working in the enterprises, for example, could be much improved in the area of coordination by a central forum, such as the proposed municipal branch. As a result, through the research that would be carried out, a theoretical and practical scientifically based answer could be given to the problems that stem from integrating the Bucharest young people into work and life, creating and developing social awareness in our young people, and raising the complex actions of creating a new man to a higher level.

d) Actually, through all these measures I think better conditions will be created to stimulate the circulation of scientific ideas and to spread positive experiences and mold a real perspective for satisfying the demands of scientifically organizing the activities of the specialists in the social sciences in all the areas of work and throughout the country. The desire to create an association of sociologists in Romania today still remains a... desire, so many years after the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party and the reconsideration of the role of the sociology. This fact is even more difficult to understand since stamp collectors, bee raisers, sheep breeders and even cooks, just to give a few examples, have been able to create their own professional associations.

In recent years it has become clear for everyone that the sociologists in Romania also have something important to add to the wealth of ideas. Although relatively few in numbers, sociologists are aware of the sense and noble worth of their craft and through their work they reinforce their conviction in the vocation, utility and necessity of sociology, with its positive implications on an economic, social and political level.

It is in itself understood that once a science appears it answers to certain practical needs and objective knowledge and cannot disappear. However, in order to obtain special success and to mold a national scientific school of sociology the importance of a formal organizational framework must be understood and accepted. And, it must be especially understood that science is not a field where you can seed and harvest the crop over night; and, with regards to sociology, you cannot lose sight of the effects of the future.

BRIEFS

NEW JOB FOR ONESCU--The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves that Comrade Iosif Uglar is relieved of his position as chairman of the central commission for socialist competitions between the peoples councils of the counties, of Bucharest Municipality of the [other] municipalities, of the sectors of Bucharest Municipality, of the cities and of the communes. Comrade Cornel Onescu, first vice chairman of the Committee for Problems of Peoples Councils, is appointed chairman of the Central Commission for socialist competition between the peoples councils of the counties, of Bucharest Municipality, of the [other] municipalities, of the sectors of Bucharest Municipality, of the cities, and of the communes. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 23, 24 Mar 80 p 7]

TERRITORIAL-ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES--The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the villages of Brigleasa and Vladica in Bicles Commune of Mehedinti County have become a part of Dumbrava Commune in the same county and the village of Adunatii Teiului is transferred from Bicles Commune to Timna Commune in Mehedinti County. The annex to Law No 2/1968 on the administrative organization of the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania is amended accordingly. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 24, 25 Mar 80 p 1]

CSO: 2700

MONITORING OF BORDER CROSSING, BORDER-AREA ACTIVITY, RESIDENCE

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 14, 21 Mar 80 pp 438-443

[Regulation issued by the federal secretary for internal affairs on 25 February 1980: "Regulation on Monitoring Crossing of the National Border and on Movement, Stay, Residence, Hunting and Fishing in the Border Zone"]

[Text] Article 1

This regulation prescribes the following: the manner in which the crossing of the national border shall be monitored, the carrying of arms across the national border, movement and stay at the border crossing, movement and stay in the border zone, hunting and fishing in the border zone, taking up residence in the border zone, issuance of permits for the flight of civil aircraft over the border zone, construction of structures in the border zone and the keeping of records on monitoring the crossing of the national border, as well as the forms of permits for movement and stay at the border crossing, for movement and stay away from the place where the border crossing is located and for movement and stay in the border zone.

1. Monitoring Crossing of the National Border

Article 2

The crossing of the national border shall be monitored immediately upon the arrival of the vehicle or traveler at the border crossing. If necessary clearance procedure may also be conducted in the vehicle itself or at another designated place within the limits of the border crossing.

The crossing of the national border shall be monitored during the vehicle's regular stop at the border crossing, but in exceptional cases it may be monitored in trains, on aircraft, or aboard maritime and river vessels in international transportation even outside the limits of a border crossing.

As a rule the crossing of the national border shall be monitored by law enforcement agencies competent to monitor the crossing of the national border: the first upon entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the last on leaving the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 3

Organizations of associated labor for management of seaports or for management of river and lake ports and airports and railroad transportation organizations of associated labor, and also owners or users of vehicles in international maritime, river, lake, air and rail transportation are required to give timely notice to the agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border of the entry or exit of regular and unscheduled means of transportation over the national border: 2 hours in the case of an aircraft and 12 hours in the case of other means of transportation.

Article 4

Organizations of associated labor for management of seaports or management of river and lake ports and airports and railroad transportation organizations of associated labor, and owners or users of means of transportation or persons operating means of transportation in international transportation are required to make the necessary space available to the official of the agency competent to monitor the crossing of the national border when clearance procedure is being conducted in the means of transportation itself and to allow him free access and gratis transportation in the means of transportation during the conduct of clearance procedure and return to his station.

The organizations referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article are required to illuminate the means of transportation or portion of the grounds of the border crossing where clearance procedure is conducted.

Article 5

The passenger list and copy of the list of members of the crew of a vessel arriving from abroad or departing abroad shall contain the following: last name and first name of the passenger or crew member, date of birth, nationality and number of the travel document or other document proving identity.

In the checking of travel documents or other documents proving the identity of passengers and crew members of a vessel in international maritime, river and lake transportation the identity of all persons on the vessel shall be established and the information from travel documents or other documents proving identity of persons on the vessel shall be checked against information on the passenger list and copy of the list of crew members or the list of crew members.

Article 6

The space where the means of transportation shall stop or dock in crossing the national border shall be designated by the following:

1) on the grounds of a highway border crossing--by the agency competent to monitor the crossing of the national border in agreement with the competent customs house;

2) on the grounds of an airport, seaport, riverport, lakeport and railroad border crossing--the organization of associated labor for management of the seaport, riverport, lakeport or airport or the railroad stationmaster in agreement with the agency competent to monitor the crossing of the national border, the competent customs house and the harbormaster's office of the seaport or riverport.

Article 7

The crew members of a vessel or personnel employed on means of transportation and passengers entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from abroad by such means of transportation or departing abroad from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by such means of transportation may communicate only with authorized officials conducting the prescribed procedure at the border crossing until the procedure of monitoring the crossing of the national border at the border crossing has been completed.

The captain of a vessel or aircraft, the operator of a boat, railroad personnel and the driver of another means of transportation may not allow other persons to enter the means of transportation after clearance procedure has been conducted at the national border without permission of the authorized official of the agency competent to monitor the crossing of the national border.

Article 8

If a vessel in international transportation on which clearance procedure for the crossing of the national border has been conducted upon its arrival or departure should in the course of its subsequent navigation in coastal waters or on rivers and lakes of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on which international transportation is conducted come into contact with other vessels, the captain of the vessel, at the request of the agency competent to monitor the crossing of the national border, must again subject the vessel to the procedure of monitoring the crossing of the national border. The costs of the subsequent clearance procedure shall be borne by the owner or user of the vessel.

Article 9

In a case of force majeure (flood, fire or other natural disaster), persons residing permanently or happening to be in the border zone may cross the national border even at a place other than one designated for the crossing of the national border even without a valid travel document, so long as the reasons of the force majeure prevail.

Foreign nationals crossing the national border in the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article and enter the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall notify their crossing of the national border to the nearest administrative agency competent for internal affairs or police station or the nearest border military unit.

The agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for internal affairs shall report the crossing of the national border by the person referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article to the republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs and the border authorities of the neighboring state.

The national border as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be crossed both at border crossings for international traffic and also at border crossings for border traffic. If the national border is crossed at these border crossings, consent for crossing shall be issued by the agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border.

Article 10

The administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall immediately return across the national border a foreign national who it finds has unintentionally crossed the national border unless international treaties provide otherwise.

Article 11

Persons crossing the national border at points other than the border crossing designated by international treaty must first notify the nearest agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for internal affairs.

The agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall inform the competent border military unit of the notification.

2. The Carrying of Weapons and Ammunition Over the National Border

Article 12

Weapons and ammunition are regarded as having been declared at the border crossing if they have been declared to the official of the law enforcement agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border or to a customs official.

The officer of the law enforcement agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border to whom weapons and ammunition have been declared shall inform the customs official.

The officer referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall enter in the travel document of a foreign national crossing the national border and

carrying weapons and ammunition not only the stamp certifying the crossing of the national border, but also a stamp signifying that weapons and ammunition have been carried into the country and the number of the permit for so doing. That stamp shall be canceled on the foreign national's first departure from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 13

If a national of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or a foreign national fails to declare weapons and ammunition he is carrying on himself when he crosses the national border, the officer of the agency competent to monitor the crossing of the national border shall temporarily confiscate such weapons and ammunition and shall deliver them along with a request for institution of misdemeanor proceedings to the agency competent to conduct misdemeanor proceedings. He shall at the same time inform the competent customs house of the confiscated weapons and ammunition for institution of proceedings.

Article 14

A statement to the effect that weapons and ammunition have been temporarily confiscated shall be issued to the person from whom the weapons and ammunition have been confiscated.

The statement that weapons and ammunition have been temporarily confiscated shall contain the following information: last name and first name of the person from whom the weapons and ammunition have been confiscated and his place of residence and address; the type, caliber and factory number of the confiscated weapons; the number of rounds of ammunition confiscated and the date of confiscation of the weapons and ammunition.

Article 15

If a national of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who is working abroad declares weapons and ammunition at a border crossing on entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia whose possession is covered by the permit of a foreign agency or who does not have a permit to purchase the weapon and ammunition issued by the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province, the authorized officer of the law enforcement agency competent to monitor the crossing of the national border shall temporarily hold such weapon and ammunition.

The weapon and ammunition referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be returned to the owner when he leaves the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

If the owner of a weapon and ammunition which have been held temporarily does not appear within 60 days of the date when the weapon and ammunition were temporarily held or within that period does not obtain a permit from

the competent agency to purchase a weapon and ammunition, procedure shall be followed as for confiscation in misdemeanor proceedings.

Article 16

If it is found in conduct of procedure to monitor the crossing of the national border on a foreign vessel that on the vessel or in the possession of crew members there are weapons and ammunition which have not been declared as cargo, the authorized official of the agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border shall order the captain of the vessel to place the weapons and ammunition in a special place and attach a seal so long as the vessel is in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

3. Movement and Stay at the Border Crossing and Away From the Place Where the Border Crossing Is Located

Article 17

The permit for movement and stay at a border crossing for international traffic or for border traffic may be permanent or temporary.

The permits referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued on forms Nos 1 and 2.

The permits referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall also be valid for embarkation on a vessel in international transportation during its stop at a border crossing if this is specifically indicated in the permit.

Article 18

A permanent permit for movement and stay at a border crossing shall be issued at the request of the party.

For persons employed at the border crossing the application for issuance of the permanent permit shall be filed by the government agency, organization of associated labor or other self-managed organization or community whose headquarters are located or whose activity is performed at the border crossing and by which the individual is employed.

For foreign nationals who are crew members of a foreign vessel or aircraft the application for issuance of a permanent permit shall be filed by the captain of the vessel or aircraft in the form of a certified copy of the list of crew members. The application shall be accompanied by a 3 x 4-cm photograph of each member of the crew faithfully portraying the person for whom the permit is being requested.

The application for issuance of a permanent permit for movement and stay at the border crossing shall be filed in writing and shall contain the following information: last and first name, date and place of birth, nationality

and occupation, number and type of the personal document of the applicant or of the person for whom the permit is to be issued and the reasons for applying for the permit.

"Foreign vessel" as used in Paragraph 3 of this article means any foreign vessel except foreign yachts and boats intended for recreation or sport and foreign passenger vessels on excursion cruises.

Article 19

The permanent permit for movement and stay at the border crossing shall be issued at employees of the customs service, the service for navigation safety, and to veterinary, phytosanitary, transportation and market inspectors serving at the border crossing in the form of certification on their official credentials or authorization to perform their duties. The certification shall be made by the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border.

In the case of employees of the customs service, the service for safety of navigation, and veterinary, phytosanitary, transportation and market inspectors serving in federal, republic or provincial administrative agencies, but visiting border crossings on official business, the official credentials or authorization for performing their duties shall be certified by the republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs where these employees have their residence.

Article 20

The temporary permit for movement and stay at the border crossing shall be issued at the party's request.

The application for issuance of the permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be submitted in writing and shall contain the following information: last and first names, date and place of birth, nationality and occupation, number and type of travel document of the applicant and the reason for applying for the permit.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, the temporary permit for movement and stay at the border crossing may be issued to members of the immediate family of seamen embarked on a Yugoslav vessel, at their verbal request.

Article 21

A permit for movement and stay at a border crossing may be issued to persons who arrive at a border crossing in a group (school excursions, cadets of maritime schools, the conduct of various surveys, television crews, and so on). The following information shall be entered in the permit: last and first name and number of the travel document of the leader of the group, the

name of the agency or organization in which he is employed and in what position, and the number of members of the group.

The permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued on Form No 3.

Article 22

The temporary permit for movement and stay at the border crossing which is issued to crew members of foreign yachts and boats intended for recreation or sport entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and whose seaman's and riverman's papers do not have a space set aside for visa, shall be issued for the same period as the validity of the permit for the movement of those vessels in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or on the rivers or lakes of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on which international navigation is conducted.

Article 23

The permit for movement and stay elsewhere than in the place where the border crossing is located shall be issued to a foreigner for medical treatment or to conduct official business related to the activity of a means of transportation or to visit relatives and in other warranted cases.

The permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued at the party's request.

The application for issuance of a permit for movement and stay outside the place where the border crossing is located shall be submitted in writing and shall contain the following information: last and first name, date and place of birth, nationality, occupation and the number of the applicant's travel document, the place to which he wishes to travel, the time he is to stay at that place and the reason why he wishes to go to that place.

The permit for movement and stay outside the place where the border crossing is located shall be issued on Form No 4.

Article 24

The body competent to issue the permit for movement and stay at the border crossing and the permit for movement and stay outside the place where the border crossing is located may summon the applicant and ask him to clarify verbally certain statements in the application.

4. Movement and Stay in the Border Zone

Article 25

The permit for movement and stay in the border zone shall be issued at the party's written request.

A permanent permit for movement and stay in the border zone shall be issued on Form No 5, and a temporary permit for movement and stay in the border zone on Form No 6.

The temporary permit for movement and stay in the border zone may also be issued to a group of individuals entering the border zone together.

The permit referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article shall be issued to a group comprising at least three individuals on Form No 7.

The application for issuance of the permit for movement and stay in the border zone shall contain the following information: last and first name, date and place of birth, nationality, occupation, place of residence and address of the applicant, the reason for entering the border zone and the place and duration of stay in the border zone.

Article 26

A temporary permit for movement and stay in the border zone may also be issued to a minor who does not possess a personal identity card.

If a minor is going to the border zone in company with his parent or guardian, he is not required to have a permit for movement and stay in the border zone, and personal data concerning him shall be entered in the temporary permit for movement and stay in the border zone of the person with whom he is traveling.

Article 27

Yugoslav nationals who are not required to have a permit for movement and stay in the border zone shall prove their identity by a personal document and are required to show this document to an official monitoring movement and stay in the border zone at his request.

The personal document for establishing the identity as a Yugoslav national as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may be one of the following:

- 1) for Yugoslav nationals residing permanently in the border zone--personal identity card;
- 2) for delegates of assemblies of sociopolitical communities--the document proving their status as a delegate;

3) for employees of law enforcement agencies, the customs service and military personnel serving in the border zone--official identification or other document authorizing such persons to conduct their business in a particular area in the border zone;

4) for employment of the service for safety of navigation (employees of seaport and riverport harbormaster's offices and their branch offices and organizations for maintenance of waterways)--official credentials or personal identity card and authorization of the senior official of the agency or responsible person of the organization for handling affairs of shipping safety;

5) for employees of government agencies, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities (health service, fire-fighting service, PTT [postal, telegraph and telephone] service, electric power service, rescue teams), when they enter the border zone in emergency cases or because of force majeure--personal identity card and order of the superior of the agency or responsible person of the organization of associated labor, self-managed organization and community or merely notification to the nearest border military unit;

6) for persons fishing in the border zone at sea and for whom fishing is their principal occupation--their commercial fishing permit and personal identity card.

Article 28

Foreign nationals who are not required to have a permit for movement and stay in the border zone shall prove their identity with a personal document, as follows:

1) foreign nationals residing permanently in the border zone--by the personal identity card for foreign nationals;

2) foreign nationals who are temporary residents of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the basis of a treaty on local border traffic--with the document for local border traffic issued under the provisions of that international treaty;

3) foreign nationals entering the border zone on the basis of another international treaty (maintaining and renewing the boundary, settlement of border incidents and other violations of the border, settlement of matters pertaining to water management or the electric power industry, joint construction of projects, and PTT)--by the document envisaged by the international treaty.

5. Hunting in the Border Zone

Article 29

Only Yugoslav nationals may hunt in the border zone.

A Yugoslav national who hunts in the border zone must have a permit for movement and stay in the border zone and a hunting license issued under general regulations.

Article 30

A permit is required to organize a hunt (hayka) in the border zone. The permit shall be issued for only one hunt and shall apply only to a designated area of the border zone.

The application for permission to hold a hunt shall be submitted to the competent body in the republic or autonomous province in which the hunt would be held.

The application referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall contain the following information: the name of the hunting organization, the number of hunters and beaters who will participate in the hunt, the duration of the hunt and the area in the border zone where the hunt will be held.

Article 31

The beaters participating in a hunt in the border zone must have a permit for movement and stay in the border zone.

Article 32

Only hunting organizations may organize a hunt in the border zone.

After obtaining a permit for an organized hunt, hunting organizations must report the hunt to the competent border military unit no later than 24 hours before beginning of the hunt.

6. Fishing in the Border Zone

Article 33

Yugoslav nationals who move and stay in the border zone for fishing in the sea and on rivers or lakes must in addition to a fishing license issued under general fishing regulations also have a permit for movement and stay in the border zone.

Fishing on rivers and lakes in the border zone may be done only to the boundary and even then, as a rule, in the daytime.

Article 34

Vessels used in fishing on rivers and lakes in the border zone must be registered with the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for internal affairs in which the owner of the vessel resides unless they are registered under general regulations on vessel registration.

Vessels used in fishing on rivers and lakes in the border zone and which remain in the border zone when fishing is not being done must be kept at places designated by the body in the republic or autonomous province competent for internal affairs.

Article 35

Foreign nationals may enter the border zone at sea for commercial fishing only on the basis of a permit issued under the provisions of an international treaty, and then only the zone envisaged by the international treaty as indicated in the permit.

7. Taking up Residence in the Border Zone

Article 36

A permit for establishment of residence in the border zone shall be issued at the request of the party.

The application for issuance of the permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be filed in writing and shall contain the following: last and first name, date and place of birth, occupation, place of residence and address of the applicant, the place where residence would be taken up and the reasons why establishment of residence is sought.

8. Erection of Structures in the Border Zone

Article 37

A permit for erection of a structure in the border zone and within the limits of a border crossing shall be issued at the request of the party.

The application for issuance of the permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be filed in writing and shall contain the following:

- 1) application for issuance of the permit to an individual--last and first name of the applicant, date and place of birth of the applicant; occupation, place of residence and address of the applicant; type, description and purpose of the structure to be erected and the precise location along with an abstract from the cadastral chart of the cadastral township and indication of the cadastral plot on which the structure would be erected;

2) application for issuance of the permit to an agency, organization or community--name and location of the headquarters of the agency, organization or community; type, description and purpose of the structure to be erected and the precise site with an abstract from the cadastral chart of the cadastral township and indication of the cadastral plot on which the structure would be erected.

9. Permission for Flight of a Civil Aircraft Over the Border Zone

Article 38

An application for issuance of a permit for flight of a civil aircraft over the border zone shall be filed for permission to fly above the border zone outside entry-exit corridors and established airways.

The application for issuance of the permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be filed in writing and shall contain this information: type and markings of the aircraft, area of the border zone over which the aircraft intends to fly, and the time of and reason for the flight.

10. Records

Article 39

The agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the national border shall keep records on the number of persons crossing the national border in international, local border and other traffic, on permits issued for carrying weapons and ammunition across the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and permits for possession and carrying of hunting weapons to persons entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for hunting and to members of foreign rifle organizations entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for rifle matches or to prepare for such matches, and also records on permits issued for movement and stay at a border crossing and permits for movement and stay outside the place where the border crossing is located.

Records on the number of persons crossing the national border shall contain the date when the national border was crossed and the number of entries and exits by Yugoslav nationals and by foreign nationals.

Records on permits issued for carrying weapons and ammunition across the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on statements issued concerning temporary confiscation of weapons and ammunition, on permits for possession and carrying of hunting weapons issued to persons entering the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to hunt and to members of foreign rifle organizations coming to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for rifle matches or to prepare for such matches, shall contain the following information: last and first name and nationality of the applicant, the purpose for which the permit has been issued, the type, caliber and number of weapons and ammunition for which the permit or statement has been issued.

Records on permits issued for movement and stay at a border crossing and on permits for movement and stay outside the place where a border crossing for international traffic is located shall contain the following information: last and first name, date and place of birth of the applicant, nationality, place of residence (for Yugoslav citizens and for foreign nationals residing permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), occupation, number and type of personal document, type of permit and the period for which it has been issued.

Article 40

Records on permits issued for movement and stay in the border zone shall be kept by the body in the republic or autonomous province competent for internal affairs. The records shall contain the following information: last and first name, date and place of birth of the applicant, nationality, place of residence (for Yugoslav nationals and foreign nationals residing permanently in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), occupation, number and type of the personal document, type of permit and the period for which it has been issued.

Records on permits issued for establishment of residence in the border zone and erect structures in the border zone and within the limits of a border crossing shall be kept by the republic or provincial agency competent for internal affairs. The records shall contain the following information: last and first name, date and place of birth of the applicant, occupation, place of residence and the place at which establishment of residence has been allowed, the name and location of headquarters of the agency or organization which has submitted the application for erection of a structure in the border zone or within the limits of a border crossing, and the place and site where erection of the structure has been permitted.

11. Final Provisions

Article 41

The forms of the permits from 1 to 7 have been printed along with this regulation and constitute an integral part of it. [Not included in this translation--translator's note]

Article 42

This regulation shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ.

Belgrade, 25 February 1980

Federal Secretary for
Internal Affairs,
Franjo Herljevic (signed)

METHODS OF DEALING WITH BORDER INCIDENTS, OTHER VIOLATIONS

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 12, 7 Mar 80 pp 342-346

[Regulation issued by Franjo Herljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, on 20 February 1980: "Regulation on Procedure for Establishing and Resolving Border Incidents and Other Violations of the National Border"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 47, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Crossing the National Border and Movement in the Border Zone (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 34, 1979) and in agreement with the federal secretary for national defense and the federal secretary for foreign affairs, the federal secretary for internal affairs prescribes the following

REGULATION

on Procedure for Establishing and Resolving Border Incidents and Other Violations of the National Border

Article 1

This regulation prescribes the manner in which border incidents and other violations of the national border shall be established and resolved, defined misdemeanors for violating the regime prescribed on the national border and prescribes penalties for those misdemeanors.

I. Agencies Responsible for Establishing and Resolving Border Incidents and Other Violations of the National Border

Article 2

Border incidents and other violations of the national border shall be established by administrative agencies competent for internal affairs in cooperation with the competent authorities of border military units (hereafter referred to as "agencies for establishing border incidents") unless international treaty provides otherwise.

Border incidents and other violations of the national border shall be resolved by joint commissions envisaged by an international treaty and the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs.

If joint commissions exist, the agencies for establishing border incidents shall collaborate with the Yugoslav representatives on those commissions.

Article 3

Joint commissions for resolving border incidents and other violations of the national border (hereafter referred to as "joint commissions") shall be local commissions and head commissions.

Yugoslav representatives on local joint commissions shall be appointed by the federal secretary for internal affairs in agreement with the federal secretary for national defense and shall be nominated by the republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Yugoslav representatives on head joint commissions shall be appointed by the federal secretary for foreign affairs and nominated by the federal secretary for national defense or the federal secretary for internal affairs.

Article 4

In establishing and resolving border incidents and other violations of the national border agencies for establishing border incidents may use specialists of other government agencies, organizations of associated labor or other self-managed organizations and communities.

II. Establishment of Border Incidents and Other Violations of the National Border

Article 5

For purposes of this regulation "border incident or other violation of the national border" means a violation of the national border of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the following specifically: firing a firearm over the national border or taking aim at a member of the border security force or citizen of a neighboring state; violation of air space; violation of territorial waters and boundary waters on rivers and lakes; taking photographs of terrain and structures on the territory of a neighboring state; pollution of the territory of a neighboring state with biological, chemical and other harmful substances hazardous to health; insulting official authorities or representatives or citizens of a neighboring state; illumination of the territory of a neighboring state; setting a fire on the national border or intentionally spreading a fire from the territory of one state to the territory of another state; damaging or destroying boundary markers.

Article 6

The procedure for establishing border incidents or other violations of the national border shall be undertaken so as to ascertain the circumstances and causes that led to the border incident or other violation of the national border and the consequences which ensued therefrom.

The procedure for establishment of border incidents or other violations of the national border shall include the following: visit to the place at which the border incident or other violation of the national border occurred, securing of tracks and traces and other material evidence important to establishing existence of the border incident or other violation of the national border, the writing up of an official report on the inquiry and the taking of other steps necessary to establish the state of the facts.

Article 7

Employees of administrative agencies competent for internal affairs and members of border military units, as soon as they notice or learn that any of the actions constituting a border incident or other violation of the state border has been committed, are required to inform the body for establishing border incidents in whose jurisdiction the action was committed and to take the steps necessary to secure tracks and traces and other material evidence of the action committed.

Article 8

The report of knowledge of an action committed that constitutes a border incident or other violation of the national border should contain the following: the date and hour when the action was committed; information on the offender, the manner, the means and the place of the action; information on the consequences that ensued through commission of the action and other remarks important to establishing the border incident or other violation of the national border.

If the air space of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been violated, aside from the information referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the report must also contain information on the following: the type and markings detected of the aircraft which committed the violation, the direction and altitude of the flight, the depth and width of the violation of air space, the weather conditions, the point from which the violation committed was detected and the time and direction in which the aircraft left the air space of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

If the action which constitutes a border incident or other violation of the national border was committed in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or on rivers and lakes along the national border, in addition to the information referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, the report must also state information on the following: the type of vessel, the position and movement of the vessel and weather conditions.

Article 9

If the violation of the air space of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was committed by the aircraft's turning out of the designated airway or border corridor, the federal administrative agency competent for monitoring flights and guidance of aircraft shall immediately upon learning that the violation has been committed establish the facts related to the violation of air space and so inform the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

If the violation of the air space of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was committed in another manner than the aircraft's turning out of the designated airway or border corridor, the competent military authority shall immediately upon learning that the violation has been committed establish the facts related to the violation of air space and so inform the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 10

The body for establishing border incidents in whose jurisdiction the action constituting the border incident or other violation of the national border has been committed, immediately upon receiving the report or upon learning of the action that has been committed in some other way, shall enter into contact with the competent border military unit and Yugoslav representatives on the local joint commission, and in cooperation with them shall conduct the inquiry and gather evidence necessary to establishing the border incident or other violation of the border and the consequences which ensued therefrom.

An inquiry must unfailingly be held when death or physical injury of an individual occurs in connection with the border incident or when substantial public or private property damage has occurred.

Article 11

An official report of the inquiry shall be compiled concerning an inquiry conducted to establish a border incident or other violation of the national border, and if the event is reconstructed, a report shall also be compiled on the reconstruction of the event; a sketch shall be made of the site and photographs shall be taken of objects on the scene; statements shall be taken from witnesses, findings and opinions of experts shall be assembled, and articles found on the scene which might be significant to establishing the border incident or other violation of the national border shall be collected.

Article 12

All facts related to the incident or other violation of the national border and the circumstances under which it was committed shall be entered in the report on the inquiry.

The report on the inquiry shall consist of its introductory and descriptive sections.

The introductory section of the report on the inquiry shall contain the following: the name of the body, the names of the officials conducting the inquiry, information on the place and date of the inquiry and information on the type of border incident or other violation of the national border.

The descriptive section of the report on the inquiry shall contain the following: an exhaustive description of the border incident or other violation of the national border; information on the position and place where the border incident or other violation of the national border was committed; information on the place and time of its occurrence; description of the thing with which the border incident or other violation of the national border was committed; information on the location and position of the object against which the border incident or other violation of the national border was committed; information on persons who participated in committing the border incident or other violation of the national border and an indication of the consequences which ensued.

If death or physical injury of an individual has occurred as a consequence of the border incident or other violation of the national border, the following information shall also be entered in the report:

1) when death occurred: the cause of death, the position of the corpse and description of wounds on it, description of clothing and footwear of the person killed, the place from which fire was opened, when death occurred, would the person have lived if medical aid had reached him in time, were the injuries on the body inflicted subsequently, and a description of the articles found on the corpse;

2) when serious physical injury occurs: location of the wound, the condition of the victim, where the wounded person has been sent, the degree of danger to his life and the period required for treatment.

The report on the inquiry shall be signed by the official who headed the inquiry.

If a Yugoslav representative on the joint commission participated in the inquiry, the representative of that commission shall also sign the report on the inquiry.

Article 13

If the place at which the border incident or other violation of the national border was committed is to be photographed, the photograph should be taken so that the photograph gives as faithful an idea as possible of the object and articles containing tracks and traces and other evidence related to the border incident or other violation of the national border which has been committed.

The sketch or drawing of the place at which the border incident or other violation of the national border was committed should contain the following: presentation and description of the object and articles, the name of the place sketched, indication of the points of the compass, the scale of the sketch or drawing, a legend, information on the place and date when the sketch or drawing was made, and the signature of the person who made the sketch or drawing.

Article 14

If certain facts and circumstances under which a border incident or other violation of the national border was committed must be subsequently established, or if this is requested by a representative of the foreign state on the joint commission, a reconstruction may be made of the border incident or other violation of the national border.

The report on the reconstruction of the event shall contain data and circumstances under which the border incident or other violation of the national border was committed. The report shall be signed by the official in charge of reconstruction of the event.

Article 15

In an inquiry to establish a border incident or other violation of the national border the official is required to establish whether that incident or other violation of the national border caused material damage to public or personal property.

Material damage shall be assessed by a commission of experts whose members shall be appointed by the administrative agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for internal affairs.

Article 16

If a foreign vessel has committed a border incident or other violation of the national border in territorial waters or boundary waters on rivers and lakes of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the body for establishing border incidents shall ascertain the character of the violation and the identity of the foreign vessel and shall examine the vessel and crew and compile a report to that effect.

The report on examination of the vessel and crew of a foreign vessel should contain the following: name and information as to the origin of the vessel, first and last name of the vessel's captain, the number and list of crew members, information concerning precise positions at which the vessel was observed and detained, the grounds on which and manner in which it was detained, information on weather conditions under which navigation was conducted and other circumstances important to establishing the violation of territorial waters or boundary waters on rivers and lakes of the Socialist

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. To the report shall be appended an abstract from the ship's log of the patrol boat and an abstract of a nautical chart with the positions of interception and detention of the vessel precisely plotted.

The report referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall be signed by the captain of the patrol boat and the captain of the foreign vessel. Should the captain of the foreign vessel refuse to sign the report, the captain of the patrol boat shall write a note to that effect which he shall append to the report.

Article 17

If a foreign warship or public vessel commits a violation of the regime prescribed in territorial waters or boundary waters on rivers and lakes of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and its passage is deemed dangerous, the captain of the patrol boat shall warn such vessel to leave territorial waters or boundary waters on rivers and lakes.

In the case referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article the captain of the patrol boat must compile a report containing the following information: the time when the foreign vessel entered territorial waters or boundary waters on rivers and lakes of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, its geographic position, the category and nationality of the foreign vessel, the direction of its movement, the signals sent to the foreign vessel by the patrol boat and the responses received, the time the foreign vessel stayed in territorial waters or boundary waters on rivers and lakes of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and other circumstances important to establishing the violation of the border. An abstract from the patrol boat's log shall be appended to the report.

Article 18

If representatives of a foreign state report that a border incident or other violation of the border of a neighboring state has been committed or if information concerning such an incident or violation is obtained in some other way, the body competent for establishing border incidents, in collaboration with the competent border military unit and Yugoslav representatives on the local joint commission, but after verifying the report or knowledge it has obtained, shall proceed according to the provision of Article 24, Paragraph 1, of this regulation.

If a violation of the national border of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been committed or if another violation of the national border has been committed, the body for establishing border incidents shall report the border incident or other violation of the national border to the authority of the neighboring state as soon as it obtains permission of the republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 19

If in gathering evidence it ascertains that the border incident or other violation of the border also has the features of a crime automatically prosecuted, the body for establishing border incidents shall proceed in accordance with the provisions of the Law on Criminal Procedure (SLUZHBE NI LIST SFRJ, No 4, 1977).

Article 20

If it establishes that the state of the facts related to a border incident or other violation of the national border have not been sufficiently ascertained and that additional clarifications are needed, the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs or the republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs may request that the body which conducted procedure for establishing the border incident or other violation of the national border make another study of the state of the facts and gather new evidence.

III. Resolution of Border Incidents and Other Violations of the National Border

Article 21

Joint commissions shall resolve border incidents and other violations of the national border in the manner set forth in the international treaty on establishment and resolution of border incidents and other violations of the national border.

If international treaty does not provide for the existence of joint commissions, border incidents shall be resolved through diplomatic channels by the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs on the recommendation of the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs. The federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs shall inform the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs and the federal administrative agency competent for national defense affairs concerning the result of resolution of the border incident or other violation of the national border.

Article 22

If a border incident or other violation of the national border has inflicted material damage, the amount of the material damage and compensation of the loss shall be established in the manner envisaged by international treaty.

If international treaty has not provided for the manner in which the amount of material damage and compensation of loss shall be established, the documentation which pertains to establishment of the amount of material damage

and compensation of loss shall be delivered through the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs to the federal administrative agency competent for foreign affairs for the sake of regulating compensation of the loss through diplomatic channels.

IV. Keeping of Records and Notification

Article 23

The body competent for establishing a border incident or other violation of the national border shall keep records on border incidents and other violations of the national border, which shall contain the following: the date, hour and information on the place of commission of the action constituting a border incident or other violation of the national border and information on the type of border incident or other violation of the national border; information on the offender committing the border incident or other violation of the national border; information on the consequences that ensued and the manner of resolution of the border incident or other violation of the national border.

Article 24

The body competent for establishing border incidents in whose jurisdiction a border incident or other violation of the national border has been committed shall without delay report this to the republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

The republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs, upon receiving the notification referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, shall verify if necessary the facts alleged in the report on the border incident or other violation of the national border and shall without delay report on this to the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Announcement of a border incident or other violation of the national border to the competent body of the neighboring state shall be made after the consent has been obtained from the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

Article 25

If international treaty does not provide for establishment of a joint commission for resolving border incidents and other violations of the national border, the body competent for establishing border incidents and other violations of the national border which conducted the proceedings for establishing the border incident or other violation of the national border shall deliver all documentation it has assembled in proceedings to the republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

The republic or provincial administrative agency competent for internal affairs shall deliver the documentation referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs.

If international treaty provides for the establishment of a joint commission for resolving border incidents and other violations of the national border, the agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall deliver the documentation it has gathered in conducting proceedings to establish the border incident or other violation of the national border to Yugoslav representatives on the joint commission.

Yugoslav representatives on the joint commission for resolving border incidents and other violations of the national border shall after completing proceedings to resolve the border incident or other violation of the national border deliver the entire documentation on the border incident or other violation of the national border to the federal administrative agency competent for internal affairs and the federal administrative agency competent for national defense affairs.

V. Punitive Provisions

Article 26

An organization of associated labor or other juridical person shall be fined no more than 10,000 dinars for a misdemeanor:

- 1) if its aircraft has violated the air space of another state;
- 2) if its vessel has violated the territorial waters of another state;
- 3) if it has not taken steps to prevent a border incident or other violation of the border by its employees.

The person responsible in the organization of associated labor or other juridical person shall also be fined no more than 1,000 dinars for the misdemeanor referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 27

An individual, the captain of an aircraft or the captain of a vessel or other person responsible shall be fined no more than 2,000 dinars for a misdemeanor:

- 1) if he fires a firearm over the national border or takes aim on a member of the border security force or a citizen of a neighboring state;
- 2) if with his aircraft he violates the air space of another state;
- 3) if with his vessel he violates the territorial waters of another state;

- 4) if in crossing the national border he violates the territory, territorial waters or boundary waters of a neighboring state;
- 5) if he takes photographs of the terrain and objects on the territory of a neighboring state;
- 6) if he pollutes the territory of a neighboring state with biological, chemical or other harmful substances hazardous to health;
- 7) if he insults an official body or representative or citizen of a neighboring state;
- 8) if he causes a border incident by illuminating the territory of a neighboring state;
- 9) if he causes a fire on the border or intentionally spreads it from the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the territory of another state;
- 10) if he moves, damages or destroys a boundary marker;
- 11) if he causes a border incident or other violation of the national border.

VI. Final Provision

Article 28

This regulation shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

LIMITS ON UNDERWATER ACTIVITIES IN COASTAL WATERS

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 12, 7 Mar 80 pp 346-349

[Regulation issued by Franjo Hrljevic, federal secretary for internal affairs, on 18 February 1980]

[Text] On the basis of Article 67, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Crossing the National Border and Movement in the Border Zone (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 34, 1979) and in agreement with the federal secretary for national defense and the chairman of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications, the federal secretary for internal affairs prescribes the following

REGULATION

on Performance of Underwater Activities in the Coastal Waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

Article 1

This regulation sets forth the conditions under which organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, government bodies and agencies and individuals may perform underwater activities in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 2

For the purposes of this regulation "underwater activities in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" means diving with the use of diving equipment, the taking of photographs beneath the surface of the sea, the making of films beneath the surface of the sea and any investigation of the features of the sea and the seabed.

Organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities, government bodies and agencies and individuals performing underwater activities as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article must visibly mark the area of the sea in which those activities are being conducted.

The area in which underwater activities are being conducted shall be marked by placing a blue-and-white flag, a diver's red-and-white flag or signal marker in the form of a ball at least 30 cm in diameter and colored orange or red. The flag shall be fixed to floats placed on the surface of the water in the middle of the zone in which the underwater activities are being conducted.

When an individual or group dive is being conducted, the signal balls must be placed in the form of a square.

Article 3

For the purpose of this regulation "diving with the use of diving equipment" means staying beneath the surface of the sea with compressed-air diving equipment carried by the diver or equipment furnishing a mixture of gases for breathing from the surface of the water.

For the purpose of this regulation "diving equipment carried by the diver" means a diving apparatus, a diving suit with appurtenant equipment for breathing underwater, a diver's watch, a depth meter, compass, knife and lead weight, and a kit for personal emergency medical aid.

For the purpose of this regulation "the taking of photographs beneath the surface of the sea" means taking pictures with a camera (black-and-white or color).

For the purpose of this regulation "the making of film beneath the surface of the sea" means making short-subject, full-length, documentary, scientific and other films with movie cameras beneath the surface of the sea and the taking of pictures with television cameras for underwater photography.

For the purpose of this regulation "investigation of the features of the sea and seabed" means any gathering of data as part of oceanographic, biological, geological, speleological, hydrographic, hydrometeorological, gravimetric and other research on the features of the sea and seabed.

Article 4

It is prohibited to engage in the underwater activities referred to in Article 2 of this regulation in the following areas:

a) in the portions of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia bounded by the lines joining the following points:

	<u>Latitude</u>	<u>Longitude</u>	
1) A	42°25'54"N	18°41'45"E	(Tivat Bay)
B	42°25'51"N	18°41'23"E	(Tivat Bay)
C	42°26'12"N	18°41'18"E	(Tivat Bay)
D	42°26'21"N	18°41'30"E	(Tivat Bay)

	<u>Latitude</u>	<u>Longitude</u>	
2) A	42°46'20"N	17°52'35"E	(Gornji promontory)
B	42°41'57"N	17°57'00"E	(Sveti Mihailo reef)
C	42°41'18"N	17°55'30"E	(Lopud Island--Benersin promontory)
D	42°43'35"N	17°50'36"E	(Jakljan Island--Sokolic promontory)
E	42°45'36"N	17°45'48"E	(Peljesac peninsula--Vratnik promontory)
3) A	43°02'55"N	17°00'15"E	(Peljesac peninsula--Lovisce promontory)
B	42°58'25"N	16°59'50"E	(Korcula Island--Samograd Cove)
C	42°55'12"N	17°12'12"E	(Korcula Island--Raznjic promontory)
D	42°56'25"N	17°18'36"E	(Peljesac peninsula--Zalaz Cove)
4) A	43°02'25"N	17°24'25"E	(Visnjica promontory)
B	43°01'32"N	17°10'18"E	(Duba promontory--Mali Ston Canal)
5) A	43°20'00"N	16°24'48"E	(Southwest portion of Brac Island, including the strait Splitska vrata [Gate of Split])
B	43°20'00"N	16°24'48"E	(Southwest portion of Brac Island, including the strait Splitska vrata)
C	43°19'27"N	16°23'26"E	(Southwest portion of Brac Island, including the strait Splitska vrata)
D	43°18'54"N	16°23'24"E	(Southwest portion of Brac Island, including the strait Splitska vrata)
E	43°15'40"N	16°32'10"E	(Southwest portion of Brac Island, including the strait Splitska vrata)
F	43°16'06"N	16°32'24"E	(Southwest portion of Brac Island, including the strait Splitska vrata)
6) A	42°40'00"N	16°41'00"E	(Region around Lastovo Island)
B	42°40'00"N	17°00'00"E	(Region around Lastovo Island)
C	42°49'00"N	16°41'00"E	(Region around Lastovo Island)
D	42°49'00"N	17°00'00"E	(Region around Lastovo Island)
7) A	42°55'00"N	15°55'00"E	(Region around Vis Island)
B	42°55'00"N	16°20'00"E	(Region around Vis Island)
C	43°08'00"N	16°20'00"E	(Region around Vis Island)
D	43°08'00"N	15°55'00"E	(Region around Vis Island)
8) A	43°29'30"N	16°23'35"E	(Jova promontory)
B	43°30'30"N	16°23'34"E	(Marjan promontory--Kastelan Bay)
9) A	43°38'55"N	15°54'18"E	(Ostrica Vela promontory)
B	43°38'00"N	15°54'00"E	
C	43°27'00"N	15°54'00"E	
D	43°23'20"N	16°12'20"E	(Solta Island--Gaj promontory)
E	43°24'48"N	16°12'00"E	(Solta Island--Obinuski bok promontory)
F	43°29'45"N	16°10'48"E	(Jelinak promontory)

	<u>Latitude</u>	<u>Longitude</u>	
10)	A 43°41'20"N	15°31'12"E	(Kurba Vela Island--Mede promontory)
	B 43°37'25"N	15°34'24"E	(Blitvenica lighthouse)
	C 43°33'00"N	15°42'00"E	(Region of Zirje Island)
	D 43°38'00"N	15°47'00"E	(Region of Zirje Island)
	E 43°44'00"N	15°41'00"E	(Region of Zirje Island)
11)	A 44°29'36"N	14°30'12"E	(Losinj Island--port of Balvanida)
	B 44°26'00"N	14°26'00"E	
	C 44°09'06"N	14°49'16"E	(Veli Rat lighthouse)
	D 44°08'24"N	14°54'48"E	(Dugi otok Island--Sveta nedjelja promontory)
	E 44°08'36"N	14°56'50"E	
	F 44°12'12"N	14°56'36"E	(Southern promontory of Sestrunj Island)
	G 44°12'18"N	14°54'40"E	(Molat Island--Stapanji promontory)
	H 44°20'50"N	14°43'24"E	(Silba Island--Juzni Arat)
	I 44°26'50"N	14°34'55"E	(Ilovik Island--Radovan promontory)
	J 44°29'36"N	14°32'36"E	(Losinj Island--Trasorka Cove)
12)	A 44°47'12"N	13°54'10"E	(Polje Cove)
	B 44°45'36"N	13°52'36"E	
	C 44°43'48"N	13°54'00"E	
	D 44°45'30"N	13°56'36"E	
	E 44°46'12"N	13°55'38"E	(Franina promontory--Premantura promontory)
13)	A 44°48'15"N	14°00'12"E	(Marlera promontory)
	B 44°48'00"N	14°06'15"E	
	C 44°55'00"N	15°06'00"E	
	D 44°55'10"N	14°02'20"E	(Kavalo promontory)
14)	A 44°58'55"N	13°44'00"E	(Barbariga promontory)
	B 44°57'00"N	13°38'00"E	
	C 44°51'40"N	13°48'05"E	(Brankorsko promontory)
15)	A 45°36'24"N	13°41'50"E	
	B 45°35'24"N	13°42'12"E	(Debeli promontory)
	C 45°35'32"N	13°43'28"E	(Italian border)

b) in zones embracing the strip of sea 300 meters wide bounded by the following points on the shore:

1)	A 42°24'30"N	18°30'34"E	(Prevlaka Cove)
	B 42°28'40"N	18°23'30"E	(Rostova promontory)
2)	A 42°24'39"N	18°39'27"E	(Village Donji Krasici)
	B 42°24'39"N	18°33'02"E	(Dobrec promontory)

c) in the zone which embraces the strip of sea 300 meters wide reckoned from the shore of Mljet Island, from Hljev promontory (latitude 42°45'18"N, longitude 17°25'00"E) to Goli promontory, the entire inner side of Mljet Island, from Goli promontory to Gruj promontory and then along the outer side to Zaglavac promontory (latitude 42°41'30"N, longitude 17°42'34"E);

d) in portions of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 300 meters from the shore of Grgur and Goli islands;

e) in portions of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia embracing ports open to public traffic and on waterways customary in maritime shipping;

f) in portions of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia within 300 meters of a warship, in naval bases and immediately along the coastline in an area of a marked or enclosed military facility.

In portions of the sea as referred to in Paragraph 1 under e and f of this article it is also prohibited to dive without equipment.

Article 5

Yugoslav nationals, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities may in parts of coastal waters or zones of the sea as referred to in Article 4 of this regulation make dives using diving equipment and make photographs beneath the surface of the sea in exceptional cases if they obtain permission to do so from the competent body in the republic or autonomous province. That permit shall be issued in agreement with the competent body for national defense affairs.

On the basis of the permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article Yugoslav nationals, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities may in the parts of the sea referred to in Article 4, Paragraph 1, under a, b, c, d, and e, of this regulation, also make films beneath the surface of the sea and investigate the characteristics of the sea and seabed.

Article 6

In the portions of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or zones not covered by the provisions of Article 4 of this regulation, Yugoslav nationals may dive using diving equipment and may take photographs beneath the surface of the sea without a permit, and foreign nationals may do so only with a permit.

Yugoslav nationals may dive using diving equipment and may take photographs beneath the surface of the sea if they are members of one of the divers' organizations (societies or clubs) which are members of the League for Underwater Activities and Salt Water Fishing of Yugoslavia and if they have the appropriate diver's qualification.

The permit envisaged for foreign nationals as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued by the competent body in the republic or autonomous province which shall also define the immediate area in which the foreign national is allowed to conduct underwater activities, as well as the duration of the permit, which may not be longer than 1 year.

The permit referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may not be issued to a group of foreign divers, a foreign diving club or a foreign school for teaching diving.

Foreign nationals may be taught diving and may do practice dives in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only through Yugoslav organizations of associated labor or other self-managed organizations and communities (clubs and societies and the like) which are authorized and professionally qualified for that activity.

Article 7

Diving using diving equipment in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may be done in the period from sunrise to sunset.

Article 8

A permit is required to make films beneath the surface of the sea and to investigate the characteristics of the sea and seabed even when those activities are done outside the portions of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or zones stated in Article 4 of this regulation. This permit shall be issued by the competent body in the republic or autonomous province.

Article 9

An application for issuance of a permit for making films beneath the surface of the sea or an application for issuance of a permit for investigating the features of the sea and seabed in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should contain the following: first and last name of the individual or name of the organization of associated labor, other self-managed organization or community submitting the application; the type of film or type of research; indication of the parts of coastal waters or the seabed in which the filming or research is to be done; the technical means which will be used and the time when the filming or research will be done.

Article 10

Government bodies and agencies, organizations of associated labor and other self-managed organizations and communities may publish the results of research on the characteristics of the sea and seabed conducted in the coastal

waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or release them to foreign users only if they obtain a permit for this from the federal administrative agency competent for national defense affairs.

Article 11

The provisions of this regulation do not pertain to underwater activities in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia conducted by the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Article 12

An organization of associated labor or other juridical person shall be fined no more than 10,000 dinars for a misdemeanor as follows:

- 1) if it conducts underwater activities in portions of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia referred to in Article 4 of this regulation without authorization;
- 2) if without permission it makes films beneath the surface of the sea and investigates the characteristics of the sea and seabed (Article 8);
- 3) if without permission it publishes or releases to foreign users the results of research of the characteristics of the sea and seabed conducted in the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Article 10).

The person responsible in the organization of associated labor or other juridical person shall also be fined no more than 3,000 dinars for a misdemeanor as referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 13

An individual shall be fined no more than 3,000 dinars for a misdemeanor in the following cases:

- 1) if he does not visibly mark an area in which he is conducting underwater activities or if he does not mark it in the prescribed manner (Article 2, Paragraphs 2 and 3);
- 2) if he dives using that type of diving equipment which is not foreseen in Article 3, Paragraph 2, of this regulation;
- 3) if in parts of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as referred to in Article 4, Paragraph 1, under e and f of this regulation, he makes a dive not using diving equipment (Article 4, Paragraph 2);
- 4) if in parts of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or zones referred to in Article 4 of this regulation he dives

using diving equipment and makes photographs beneath the surface of the sea without a permit from the competent agency (Article 5, Paragraph 1);

5) if in coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he dives using diving equipment and does not have the proper diving qualifications (Article 6, Paragraph 2);

6) if in coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia he makes films beneath the surface of the sea or investigates the features of the sea and seabed without permission of the competent agency (Article 8).

A foreign national shall be subject to the fine referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article if outside the portion of the coastal waters of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or zones designated in Article 4 of this regulation he dives using diving equipment and takes photographs beneath the surface of the sea without permission of the competent agency and in cases when he performs those activities other than at the place specified in the permit.

Article 14

This regulation shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

RESTRICTIONS ON MOVEMENT, RESIDENCE IN COASTAL ISLAND AREAS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 12, 7 Mar 80 pp 341-342

[Order issued by the Federal Executive Council on 21 February 1980 and signed by Gojko Ubiparip, vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council: "Order on Prohibition and Restriction of Movement and Establishment of Residence in Certain Parts of the Seacoast, the Islands or Parts of Islands"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 51 of the Law on Crossing the National Border and Movement in the Border Zone (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 34, 1979) and on the recommendation of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Federal Executive Council issues the following

ORDER

on Prohibition and Restriction of Movement and Establishment of Residence in Certain Parts of the Seacoast, the Islands or Parts of Islands

1. On Brioni Island, Goli Island and Palagruza Island it is prohibited for foreign nationals and nationals of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to move and to take up residence.

As an exception nationals of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia residing in Vis and Lastovo opstinas may with the consent of the competent military command be allowed to move in the region of Palagruza Island and the zone around it during fishing if fishing is their principal occupation.

2. The movement and establishment of residence by foreign nationals and the movement of nationals of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia who do not reside in the region in which movement is prohibited are hereby prohibited on the following portions of the seacoast and the islands:

1) in Kotor Bay: in Cipavica Cove, from Cipavica Cove in the area bounded by a line running 1,000 meters back from the coastline to marker 220, then on to marker 192, and then back to the sea; in the area between the places Spiljica and Donji Krasici and from the southern breakwater of the port Rosa

to the promontory Dobra; in the area within 300 meters of the coastline of Lustica peninsula;

2) in the section of the seacoast north of Kardeljevo embracing the area bounded by the line: main highway--Adriatic Highway--on the north, main highway from the tunnel, canal to the lighthouse "Visnjica," from the lighthouse "Visnjica" in the direction of meridian 6452 on the east;

3) on the island Brac: from Lucica Cove to Farska Cove, within 300 meters of the coastline of the island;

4) on the islands Jabuka and Svetac.

3. On the following parts of the seacoast and islands it is prohibited for foreign nationals to take up residence:

1) in that portion of the seacoast to the north of Pula which embraces the area bounded by the line: Velika Draga Cove--along the Stinjski road to the fence of the former seaplane base, along that fence to the road which leads to Surida, along the Fazana road to Fazana, including 300 meters to both sides of the Surida--Fazana road, and also including the village of Fazana, from Fazana along the road to Peroj, including also the village of Peroj, and from Peroj along the road to the promontory Barbariga;

2) on Mamula Island.

On the portion of the seacoast referred to in Paragraph 1 of this point and Mamula Island nationals of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia may take up residence only if they obtain a permit to that effect.

4. On the islands Vis, Bisevo and Lastovo and on the smaller islands and reefs around them it is forbidden for foreign nationals to move and take up residence.

On parts of the seacoast in the area of Rogoznica and Ston Canal, on the islands Losinj, Unije, Molat, Zirje and Korcula, and on the smaller islands and reefs around them it is prohibited for foreign nationals to take up residence.

5. As an exception and when there are particular reasons, foreign nationals may be allowed to move or take up residence in the areas referred to in Points 3 and 4 of this order.

6. The permission referred to in Point 1, Paragraph 2; Point 3, Paragraph 2; and Point 5 of this order shall be issued by the competent body in the republic or autonomous province with consent of the competent military command.

7. On the day when this order takes effect the Order on Prohibition and Restriction of Movement and Establishment of Residence in Certain Parts of the Seacoast, Islands and Parts of Islands (SLUZHENI LIST SFRJ, No 10, 1976) shall cease to be valid.

8. This order shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZHENI LIST SFRJ.

7045

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

KURTESI, VAKIC APPOINTMENTS--Proceeding from the initiative and suggestion of the organizations of associated work, the organs and organizations of Pristina Opstina, the Kosovo Economic Chamber, and organs and organizations of the province of Kosovo, as well as from the LC policy for strengthening cadres in associated work, the coordinating council for cadre policy within the Kosovo Provincial Conference of SAWP supported the proposal that Ilijaz Kurtesi, president of the governing council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Serbia, be selected as president of the managing council of the newly-formed SOUR [complex organization of associated work] "Elektroprivreda Kosova" [Electric Power Industry of Kosovo], and Ilija Vakic, president of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, be chosen as president of the managing council of the newly-formed SOUR "Udružena metalna industrija Pristina" [Associated Metal Industry of Pristina]. The "Elektroprivreda Kosova" arose from the merger of the "Kosovo" Combine in Obilic and the "Elektrokosova." The associated machine [sic] industry of Pristina arose through associating the "Amortizeri" work organization in Pristina and the "Tehnoservis" enterprise in Belgrade. [Excerpt] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 80 p 2]

CSO: 2800

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